THE JEWISH ANTHOLOGY

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By EDMOND FLEG

TRANSLATED BY
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Translator's Preface

In his compilation, *L'Anthologie Juive,* published originally in French, M. Edmond Fleg sought not so much to gather into one volume what was most striking or most valuable in Jewish literary production as to present, through the medium of brief extracts, a rapid and fragmentary picture of Jewish spiritual experience from the beginnings to modern times. Of necessity, some of the best literary material extant entered into the compilation. Side by side with this material there is other, of less intrinsic merit, but hardly of less interest. The totality of these utterances of the Jewish people, the product of some twenty-five centuries, affords a glimpse into an astonishing history, continuous despite repeated fragmentation and consistent despite frequent adaptation. The original languages of these utterances—Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, French, English, German, Italian, Yiddish—are themselves an intimation of the varieties of experience embodied in these records. The actual material reflects the exaltation, despair, patience, and infinite vitality of a people that has lived much, seen much, suffered much, and thought hard.

The English rendering of this anthology differs in some respects from the original. The French compilation devotes some seventy pages at the beginning to extracts from the Bible. The English rendering begins with the Hellenistic and Talmudic epochs. The Bible is so much more familiar to the English-reading world that the inclusion of biblical extracts would merely give academic balance to the anthology without adding anything of value to it. A certain amount of material has been omitted from the body of the book without, I believe, spoiling the unity or the representative character

of the whole. On the other hand I have included a few additional poems from the living Hebrew poets. They do not fit in strictly with M. Fleg's original plan, but I believe that the renaissance of Hebrew and Hebrew literature within the last generation is an event of prime importance in the history of the Jewish people, and should find fuller representation in a compilation of this kind. The history of Jewish utterance seems to be coming full circle now: while Hebrew has never ceased to be a language of utterance for the Jews, it is only recently that it has begun to play a living rôle comparable with that which it played during the epoch of their first national consciousness.

With regard to the translation, it is necessary to explain that M. Fleg has not merely chosen passages from the literary records of the Jews and put these into French. In some places his translation is so free as to amount to an adaptation. In other places he has edited the text, condensing and reproducing the content. In all cases, except where standard translations exist (as for instance Josephus, Philo, Maimonides, Spinoza, Halper's Anthology, etc.), I have gone back to the original for comparison, but I have nearly always found M. Fleg's adaptation skilfully pointed to his purpose. Instances are some of the Talmudic legends, Berachya ben Natronai, Krochmal, etc. In the case of Berachya ben Natronai's *Fable of the Wolf,* M. Fleg completely discarded the original form, and I have followed his example. Natronai's fables are interesting in content, but his form is extraordinarily tedious. Compared with the deft La Fontaine he would come off very badly.

With the exception of Israel Zangwill's translation of the *Kether Malchuth,* and Nina Salaman's translation of Ha-Levi's *Parting,* all the verse translations are mine. Some of them have already appeared in *The Menorah Journal* and *The New Palestine,* to the editors of which I am indebted for permission to reproduce. The greater part appears here for the first time. Outside of the standard translations mentioned above, the

prose translations are, with very few exceptions, also mine. Finally, I wish to record my thanks to Dr. Louis Finkelstein, of the Jewish Theological Seminary, for much assistance and advice.

MAURICE SAMUEL.

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THE HELLENISTIC EPOCH

The Hellenistic Epoch

UNDER Alexander the Great and his successors and even during the later period of the Roman domination, Israel comes into close contact with Greek civilization. At Alexandria, despite the constant struggles, the Hebraic spirit and the Hellenistic draw closer together, and are finally reconciled in the work of Philo Judæus, who anticipates and prepares the Christian theology. In Palestine, however, where the Sages and their schools perpetuate the tradition, the resistance exercised by the Jewish spirit is much stronger; it triumphs under the Maccabees, and is vanquished only in the material field by Titus, who destroys Jerusalem and the second Temple, but leaves the Synagogue and the School to give Judaism a new lease of life.

CHRONOLOGY

B.C.

333-323. Palestine incorporated in the Empire of Alexander the Great. The Samaritans have a Temple and cult of their own. Simon the Just continues the oral tradition in the Great Synagogue.

320-198. Palestine in the hands of the Ptolemies, of Egypt. The Jews found or develop communities in the Greek cities of the Mediterranean, Antioch, Damascus, Ephesus, etc., and above all at Alexandria, where, under the administration of an Ethnarch, they prepare the union of the Greek and the Jewish spirit.

198. Palestine incorporated in the Kingdom of Syria by Antiochus the Great.

175-168. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, King of Syria, attempts to force the Greek cult and customs on the Jews of Palestine. The revolt of the Maccabees or Hasmoneans. First developments of the Apocalyptic literature.

168. Palestine, freed from Syrian domination, becomes an independent State.

139. Simon Maccabeus, Prince and High Priest, makes an alliance with Rome. A Jewish colony is already in existence in Rome.

104. Aristobulus I, grandson of Simon, takes the title of King.
103-78. Reign of his successor, Alexander; violent struggles between the two sects of the Pharisees and the Sadducees.
63. The Romans under Pompey take possession of Jerusalem.
47. The Jews of the Diaspora, who, according to Strabo, have communities in all the lands of the Roman Empire and several of whom are citizens and electors of Rome, obtain the right from Cæsar to send an annual tribute to the Temple (*fiscus Judaicus*).
40. Herod the Idumæan, Governor of Galilee, induces the Roman Senate to appoint him King of the Jews.
25. The Schools of Shemaya and Abtalion carry on the oral tradition. Progress of the sect of the Essenes.
4. Death of Herod the Great. Revolt of the Jews.

A.D.

6. Palestine divided into four Roman provinces.
10. Death of Hillel. The oral tradition continued by the Tanaim (teachers). Gamaliel I.
26-36. Pontius Pilate procurator of Judæa. Jesus and the Apostles. The Judæo-Christians.
38. Herod-Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, is promoted to the kingship by the Emperor Claudius.
40. The Jews of Alexandria, threatened in their interests and privileges, send their coreligionist, the philosopher Philo, as ambassador to Claudius.
44. Helen, Queen of Adiabenus, and her sons Izates and Monobaz, converted to Judaism. Progress of Jewish proselytizing.
50-60. Work of Saul of Tarsus (St. Paul) who makes an independent religion of Judæo-Christianity.
60. Florus, Governor of Judæa. Revolt of the Jews.
66. Vespasian sent from Rome to suppress the revolt. The historian Flavius Josephus takes part in the struggle and gives himself up to the Romans.
70. Titus takes Jerusalem, destroys the second Temple and leads many Jews captive to Rome, among them Agrippa II, the last King of the Jews, his sister Berenice and Flavius Josephus. Palestine a Roman Province.

Chapter I

HISTORY AND LEGEND

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AT JERUSALEM

Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua, the High Priest [Simon the Just], when he heard this, was in agony and terror, not knowing how he should treat the Macedonians, since the King was displeased at his previous disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should say prayers, and should join with him in offering sacrifices to God, Whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them. Whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that he should take courage, and adorn the city and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the King in the habits proper to their order without dread of any ill consequences. Upon which, when he rose from sleep, he greatly rejoiced. . . .

The Phœnicians and Chaldæans who followed Alexander thought they should have liberty to plunder the city and torment the High Priest to death, which the King's displeasure fairly promised they should be allowed to do; but the very reverse happened. For, when he saw the multitude at a great distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with white linen, and the High Priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with the mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, Alexander approached by himself and adored that name and first saluted the High

Priest. The Jews, all together, with one voice, saluted Alexander, and encompassed him about, whereupon the Kings of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done and supposed him disordered in mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him how it came about that, when all others adored him, he should adore the High Priest of the Jews. To whom he replied: "I did not adore him, but the God who hath honoured him with his High Priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia, and he exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army and would give me dominion over the Persians." And when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the High Priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him and he came into the city; and when he went up into the Temple he offered sacrifice to God, according to the High Priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the High Priest and the priests. (Josephus, *Ant.* XI, II.)

THE SAMARITANS AND THEIR TEMPLE

The elders of Jerusalem, being very uneasy that Menassah, the brother of Jaddua, the High Priest, though married to a foreigner, should be a partner with him in the High Priesthood, quarrelled with him; for they esteemed this man's marriage a step to such as would be desirous of transgressing in regard to the marriage of strange wives, and this would be the beginning of a mutual society with foreigners. . . . So they commanded Menassah to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar, the High Priest himself joining with the people in their indignation against his brother and driving him away from the altar. Whereupon Menassah came to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and told him that though he loved his daughter Nicasso, yet he was not willing to be deprived of his sacerdotal dignity on her account, which was the principal dignity in the nation

and always continued in the same family. And then Sanballat promised him not only to preserve to him the honour of his priesthood, but to procure for him the power and dignity of a High Priest and make him governor of all the places he now ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. He also told him further that he would build him a Temple like that at Jerusalem upon Mount Gerizim, which is the highest of all the mountains that are in Samaria, and he promised that he would do this with the approbation of Darius the King. Menassah was elated by these promises, and stayed with Sanballat, supposing that he should gain a High Priesthood, bestowed on him by Darius, for it happened that Sanballat was then in years. . . . [Sanballat then promised Darius to aid him in his struggle with Alexander, in the belief that Darius would be victor. But Darius was defeated, and Sanballat changed his plans. . . .] Sanballat thought the proper opportunity had come for him to make his attempt, and taking with him seven thousand of his own subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him beginning the siege of Tyre, he said to him that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion and did gladly accept him as their lord instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat took courage, and spoke to him about his present affair. He told him that he had a son-in-law, Menassah, who was brother to the High Priest Jaddua, and that there were many others of his own nation now with him that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be better for the King's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest, being of one mind and united, they might prove troublesome to Kings upon any attempt at innovation, as they had formerly done to the Kings of Syria. Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave to do so; and Sanballat used the utmost diligence and built the temple and made Menassah the Priest, and deemed it a great reward that his daughter's children should have that dignity. . . . (Josephus, *Ant.* XI, II.)

THE SEPTUAGINTA

Demetrius of Phalerum, the president of the King's library, received vast sums of money for the purpose of collecting together, as far as he possibly could, all the books in the world. By means of purchase and transcription, he carried out, to the best of his ability, the purpose of King Ptolemy. On one occasion he was asked: "How many books are there in the library?" And he answered: "More than two hundred thousand, O King, and I shall make endeavour in the immediate future to gather together the remainder also, so that the total of five hundred thousand may be reached. I am told that the laws of the Jews are worth transcribing and deserve a place in your library." "What is to prevent you from doing this?" replied the King. "They need to be translated," answered Demetrius, "for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar dialect. . . ." And the King, when he understood all the facts of the case, ordered a letter to be written to the Jewish High Priest that his purpose might be accomplished. . . .

And Eleazer, after offering the sacrifice and choosing the envoys, and preparing many gifts for the King, despatched us on our journey in great security. And when we reached Alexandria, the King was at once informed of our arrival. . . . When they entered with the gifts which had been sent with them and the valuable parchments on which the law was inscribed in gold in Jewish characters, for the parchment was wonderfully prepared and the connection between the pages had been so effected as to be invisible, the King, as soon as he saw them, began to ask them about the books. And when they had taken the rolls out of their covers and unfolded the pages, the King stood still for a long time, and then, making obeisance about seven times, said: "I thank you, my friends, and I thank him that sent you still more, and most of all God, whose oracles these are. . . ."

Three days later Demetrius took the men, and, passing along the sea-wall, seven stadia long, to the island, crossed the

bridge and made for the northern districts of Pharos. There he assembled them in a house, which had been built upon the seashore, of great beauty and in a secluded situation, and invited them to carry out the work of translation, since everything they needed for the purpose was placed at their disposal. So they set to work comparing their several results and making them agree. . . .

And the King . . . did homage and ordered that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should be sacredly guarded. And he urged the translators to visit him frequently after their return to Judæa, saying he would treat them as friends and that they would receive rich presents from him. (*Letter of Aristeas.*)

HELLENISM IN PALESTINE

After the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the Kingdom, Jason, the brother of Onias, laboured secretly to be High Priest, promising to the King by intercession three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and another revenue of eighty talents. Beside this, he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more if he might have license to set up a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashion of the heathen, and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians. When the King had granted this, and he had received the rule into his hand, he forthwith brought his own nation to adopt the Greekish fashions. . . . Now such was the height of these fashions, and the increase of heathenish manners, through the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly wretch and no High Priest, that the priests had no courage any more to serve at the altar, but, despising the temple and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise, after the game of discus called them forth: not setting aside the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the Grecians best of all. By reason whereof sore calamity came

upon them: for they had them to be their enemies and avengers, whose custom they followed so earnestly, and whom they desired to resemble in all things. (*II Maccabees* 4.)

THE PERSECUTIONS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES

Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom that all should be one people, and every one should leave his laws, so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the King. Yea, many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols and profaned the Sabbath. For the King had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Juda, that they should follow the laws and rites of the strangers of the land, and forbid burnt offerings and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the Temple; and that they should profane the Sabbath and festival days; and pollute the sanctuary and holy people; set up altars and groves and chapels of idols and sacrifice swine's flesh and unclean beasts: that they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation: to the end that they might forget the law and change all the ordinances. And whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the King, he said, should die. In the self-same manner he wrote to his whole kingdom, and appointed overseers over all the people, commanding the cities of Juda to sacrifice, city by city. (*I Maccabees* 1.)

THE REBELLION OF MATTATHIAS

In the meanwhile the King's officers, those who compelled the people to revolt, came into the city Modin to make them sacrifice. And when many of Israel came unto them, Mattathias also and his sons came together. Then answered the King's officer and said to Mattathias on this wise: Thou art a ruler and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren; now therefore come thou

first and fulfil the King's commandment, like as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem; so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the King's friends, and thou and thy children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards. Then Mattathias answered and spake with a loud voice: Though all the nations that are under the King's dominion obey him, and fall every one away from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments, yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the King's words, to go from our religion either to the right hand or the left. Now when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the King's commandment. Which thing when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to show his anger according to judgment; wherefore he ran, and slew him upon the altar. Also the King's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down. Thus dealt he zealously for the law of God, like as Phineas did unto Zamri, the son of Salom. And Mattathias cried throughout the city with a loud voice: Whosoever is zealous of the law and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me. So he and his sons fled into the mountains, and left all that ever they had in the city. (*I Maccabees* 2.)

THE MARTYRDOM OF SEVEN BROTHERS AND THEIR MOTHER

It came to pass also that seven brethren with their mother were taken and compelled by the King against the law to taste swine's flesh and be tormented with scourges and whips. But one of them that spake first, said thus: What wouldst thou ask or learn of us? We are ready to die rather than to transgress against the laws of our fathers. The King, being in a

rage, commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot. Which forthwith being heated, he commanded to cut out the tongue of him that spake first, and to cut off the hindmost parts of his body, the rest of his brethren and his mother looking on. Now when he was thus maimed in all his members, he commanded him, being yet alive, to be brought to the fire and to be fried in the pan: and as the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed, they exhorted one another with the mother to die manfully, saying thus: The Lord looketh upon us, and in truth hath comfort in us, as Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces, declared, saying: And he shall be comforted in his servants.

So when the first was dead after this manner, they brought the second to make him a laughing-stock; and when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair, they asked him: Wilt thou eat, before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body? But he answered in his own language and said, No. Wherefore he also received the next torment in order, as the former did. And when he was at the last gasp he said: Thou, like a fury, takest us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, unto everlasting life. After him was the third made a laughing-stock: and when he was required, he put out his tongue, and that right soon, holding forth his hands manfully. And he said courageously: These I had from heaven, and for his laws I despise them; and from him I hope to receive them again. Insomuch that the King, and they that were with him, marvelled at the young man's courage, for that he nothing regarded the pains.

Now when this man was dead also, they tormented and mangled the fourth in like manner. So when he was ready to die, he said thus: It is good, being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him; as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life. After that they brought the fifth also and mangled him. Then he looked unto the King and said: Thou hast power over men, thou

art corruptible, thou dost what thou wilt; yet think not that our nation is forsaken of God; but abide a while and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed. After him they also brought the sixth, who, being ready to die, said: Be not deceived without cause, for we suffer these things for ourselves, having sinned against our God: therefore marvellous things are done unto us. But think not thou, that takest in hand to strive against God, that thou shalt escape punishment. . . .

Now Antiochus, while the youngest was yet alive, did not only exhort him by words, but also assured him with oaths, that he would make him both a rich and a happy man, if he would turn from the laws of his fathers; and that also he would take him for his friend, and trust him with affairs. But when the young man would in no case hearken unto him, the King called his mother, and exhorted her that she would counsel the young man to save his life. And when he had exhorted her with many words, she promised that she would counsel her son. Then she bowed herself toward him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn, and spake in her country language in this manner: O my son, have pity upon me that bare thee nine months in my womb, and gave thee suck three years, and nourished thee, and brought thee up unto this age, and endured the trouble of education; I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not; and so was mankind made likewise. Fear not this tormentor but, being worthy of thy brethren, take thy death, that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren. Whiles she was yet speaking these words, the young man said: Whom wait ye for? I will not obey the King's commandment: but I will obey the commandment of the law that was given unto our fathers by Moses. . . . Then the King, being in a rage, handled him worse than all the rest, and took it grievously that he was mocked. So this man died undefiled and put his whole trust in the Lord.

Last of all, after the sons, the mother died. (*II Maccabees* 7.)

JUDAS MACCABEUS

And now, when the trial seemed to be at hand, and the enemies were already come near, and the army was set in array, and the beasts conveniently placed, and the horsemen set in wings, Maccabeus, seeing the coming of the multitude, and the divers preparations of armour, and the fierceness of the beasts, stretched out his hands toward heaven, and called upon the Lord that worketh wonders, knowing that victory cometh not by arms, but even as it seemeth good to him, he giveth it to such as are worthy. Therefore in his prayer he said after this manner: O Lord, thou didst send thine angel in the time of Ezekias, King of Judæa, and didst slay in the host of Sennacherib an hundred, fourscore and five thousand: wherefore now also, O Lord of heaven, send a good angel before us for a fear and dread unto them; and through the might of thine arm, let those be stricken with terror, that come against thy holy house to blaspheme. And he ended thus.

Then Nicanor and they that were with him came forward with trumpets and songs. But Judas and his company encountered the enemies with invocation and prayer. So that fighting with their hands and praying unto God with their hearts, they slew no less than thirty-five thousand men; for through the appearance of God they were greatly cheered.

Now when the battle was done, returning again with joy, they knew that Nicanor lay dead in his harness. Then they made a great shout and a noise, praising the Almighty in their own language. And Judas, who was ever the chief defender of the citizens, both in body and mind, and who continued his love toward his countrymen all his life, commanded to strike off Nicanor's head and his hand with his shoulder, and bring them to Jerusalem. So when he was there, and had

called them of his nation together, and set the priests before the altar, he sent for them that were of the tower. And he showed them the vile Nicanor's head, and the hand of that blasphemer, which with proud boasts he had stretched out against the Temple of the Almighty. And when he had cut out the tongue of that ungodly Nicanor, he commanded that they should give it by pieces to the fowls, and hang up the reward of his madness before the Temple. So every man praised towards heaven the glorious Lord, saying: Blessed be he that hath kept his own place undefiled. He hanged also Nicanor's head upon the tower, an evident and manifest sign unto all of the help of the Lord. And they ordained all with a common decree in no case to let that day pass without solemnity, but to celebrate the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which in Syrian tongue is called Adar, the day before Mardocheus day. (*II Maccabees* 15.)

JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES

And in the fourth day Holofernes made a feast to his own servants only, and called none of the officers to the banquet. Then he said to Bagoas the eunuch, who had charge over all that he had: Go now, and persuade that Hebrew woman which is with thee that she come unto us and eat and drink with us. For lo, it will be a shame to our person if we let such a woman go, not having had her company; for if we draw her not unto us she will laugh us to scorn. Then went Bagoas from the presence of Holofernes and came unto her, and he said: Let not this fair damsel fear to come to my lord, and to be honoured in his presence and to drink wine, and be merry with us, and be made this day as one of the daughters of the Assyrians, which serve in the house of Nebuchodonosor. Then said Judith unto him: Who am I now that I should gainsay my lord? Surely whatsoever pleaseth him I will do speedily, and it shall be my joy unto the day of my death. So she arose and decked herself with her ap-

parel and her woman's attire, and her maid went and laid soft skins on the ground for her over against Holofernes, which she had received from Bagoas for her daily use, that she might sit and eat upon them. Now when Judith came in and sat down, Holofernes his heart was ravished with her, and his mind was moved and he desired greatly her company: for he waited a time to deceive her, from the day that he had seen her. Then said Holofernes unto her: Drink now, and be merry with us. Then Judith said: I will drink now, my lord, because my life is magnified in me this day more than all the days since I was born. Then she took and ate and drank before him what her maid had prepared. And Holofernes took great delight in her and drank much more wine than he had drunk at any time in one day since he was born.

Now when the evening was come, his servants made haste to depart, and Bagoas shut his tent without and dismissed the waiters from the presence of his lord; and they went to their beds, for they were all weary because the feast had been long. And Judith was left alone in the tent, and Holofernes lying along upon his bed, for he was filled with wine. Now Judith had commanded her maid to stand without her bedchamber, and to wait for her coming forth, as she did daily; for she said she would go forth to her prayers, and she spake to Bagoas according to the same purpose. So all went forth, and none was left in the bedchamber, neither little nor great. Then Judith, standing by his bed, said in her heart: O Lord God of all power, look at this present upon the works of mine hand for the exaltation of Jerusalem. For now is the time to help thine inheritance, and to execute mine enterprises to the destruction of the enemies which are risen against us. Then she came to the pillar of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head, and took down his fauchion from thence. And she approached his bed, and took hold of the hair of his head, and said: Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, this day. And she smote twice upon his neck with all her might, and she took away his head from him. And she tumbled his body down

from the bed and pulled down the canopy from the pillars; and anon after she came forth, and gave Holofernes his head to her maid; and she put it in her bag of meal, so they twain went together. (*Judith* 12: 10—13: 10.)

CÆSAR AND THE JEWS

The decree of Cæsar: "I, Julius Cæsar, imperator the second time, and High Priest, have made this decree with the approbation of the Senate: Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness, and came to our assistance in the Alexandrian war, with fifteen hundred soldiers. . . . For these reasons I will that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews and have the High Priesthood of the Jews for ever, and that he and his sons be our confederates; and that beside this every one of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain that he and his children retain whatever privileges belong to the office of High Priest, or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them; and if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same. And I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them. . . . Ambassadors shall be sent to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the High Priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; and a table of brass, containing the promises, shall be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon and Tyre and Askelon, and in the Temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: and this decree may be also communicated to the quæstors and prætors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews: and the ambassadors shall have presents made them, and these decrees shall be sent everywhere. . . ." (Josephus, *Ant.* XIV, X.)

THE LAST WISH OF HEROD THE GREAT

Herod, having no longer the least hopes of recovering, gave order that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmæ; and he also gave a great deal to his commanders, and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew so choleric that it brought him to do all things like a madman; and though he were near his death he contrived the following wicked designs. He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called to him. Accordingly, there were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded him ground for accusations; and when they were come he ordered them all to be shut up in the hippodrome, and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, and spoke thus to them: "I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men; but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented, and without such mourning as men usually expect at a King's death." For that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable and exceedingly acceptable to them; because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him. . . . It was therefore the business of Salome and Alexas to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrows on this occasion; for that if they did not refuse him their consent to what he desired, he should have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never any King had before him; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired therefore that as soon as they saw that he had given up the ghost, they should place soldiers round the hippodrome, while they did not yet know he was dead; and that

they should not declare his death to the multitude till this was done, but that they should give order to have those that were in custody shot with their darts. And this slaughter of them all would cause that he should not miss rejoicing on a double occasion; that as he was dying they would make him certain that his will would be executed in what he charged them to do; that he should have the honour of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition, with tears in his eyes, and charged them by the kindness due from them, as being his kindred, and by the faith they owed to God, and begged them that they should not deprive him of this honourable mourning at his funeral. So they promised him not to transgress his commands.[1] (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews.*)

ANTI-JUDAISM IN EGYPT

Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation, some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor give a true account of their departure thence; and indeed the Egyptians took many occasions to hate us and envy us; in the first place because our ancestors had had the dominion over their country, and when they were delivered from them, and had gone to their own country, they lived there in prosperity. In the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs had occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed, as does the nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for so far they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ from one another in the peculiar worship they severally pay to them; and certainly they are entirely of vain and foolish minds, who have thus accustomed themselves from the be-

[1] The command was not carried out. (Tr.)

ginning to have such bad notions concerning their gods and could not think of imitating that decent form of divine worship which we made use of, though, when they saw our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on that account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

And I turn to one of their principal writers, whom I have a little made use of as a witness to our antiquity: I mean Manetho. He promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and premised thus: that "our people had come into Egypt, many ten thousands in numbers, and subdued its inhabitants"; and he further confessed that "we went out of that country afterward, and settled in that country which is now called Judæa, and there built Jerusalem and its Temple." Now, thus far, he followed his ancient records; but after that he permits himself to write that rumours and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and introduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude, that had the leprosy and other distempers, to have been mixed with us and condemned to fly out of Egypt together with us. . . . (Josephus, *Reply to Appion,* Book I.)

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REBELLION AGAINST ROME

On the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding apace to their synagogue, a certain man of Cæsarea, of seditious temper, got an earthen vessel and set it, with the bottom upward, at the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds. This thing provoked the Jews to an incurable degree, because their laws were affronted and their place polluted; whereupon the sober and moderate part of the Jews thought it proper to have recourse to their governors again, while the seditious part, and those that were

in the fervour of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The seditious also among the gentiles of Cæsarea stood ready for the same purpose, for they had, by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand (as ready to support him), so that it soon came to blows. . . . But John and the twelve principal men went to Florus, to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of their case, and besought him to help them; and, with all possible decency, put him in mind of the eight talents they had given him; but he had them seized upon, and put in prison, and accused them for carrying the books of the law out of Cæsarea.

As to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they restrain their passion; but Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasure, and pretended that Cæsar wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the Temple, with prodigious clamour, and called upon Cæsar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews,* II, XV.)

THE SACKING OF THE TEMPLE

So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia, and resolved to storm the Temple next day, early in the morning with his whole army, and to encamp round about the holy house; but, as for that house, God had for certain long ago doomed it to the fire; and now that fatal day was come, according to the revolution of the ages: it was the tenth [1] day of the month Lous (Ab) upon which it was formerly burnt by the King of Babylon; although these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them; for upon Titus's retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that

[1] The ninth day, according to Jewish tradition. (Tr.)

was burning in the inner court of the Temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and hurried on by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and, being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward the Jews made a mighty clamour, such as so great an affliction required, and ran together to prevent it; and now they spared not their lives any longer, nor suffered anything to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the last battle; whereupon he rose up in great haste, and as he was, ran to the holy house, in order to have a stop put to the fire; after him followed his commanders, and after them followed all their legions, in great astonishment; so there was a mighty clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Cæsar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting, with a loud voice, and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire; but they did not hear what he said, though he spake so loud, having their ears already dinned by a great noise another way; nor did they attend to the signal he made with his right hand neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion; but as for the legions that came running hither, neither any persuasions nor any threatenings could restrain their violence, but each one's own passion was his commander at this time; and as they were crowding into the Temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot and smoking,

and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered. And when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Cæsar's orders to the contrary; but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were already in too great distress to afford their assistance toward quenching the fire, and they were everywhere slain and everywhere beaten; and as for a great part of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now, round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped upon one another; as at the steps going to it ran a great quantity of blood, whither also the dead bodies of those that were slain on the altar above rolled down.

And now, since Cæsar was in no way able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of his soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the Temple, with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it, which he found to be far superior to what the relations of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted and believed of it; but as the flames had not yet reached to the inward parts, but were still consuming the rooms that were round about the holy house, and Titus supposing what the fact was, that the house itself might yet be saved, he came in haste and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave orders to Liberalius the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and restrain them! Yet were their passions too hard for the regard which they had for Cæsar, and the dread they had for him who forbade them, as was their hatred for the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them, too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many of them to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all round about it was made of gold; and besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Cæsar, when he ran out so hastily to restrain the soldiers, and threw the

fire upon the hinges of the gate in the dark; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house immediately, when the commanders retired and Cæsar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it; and thus was the holy house burned down without Cæsar's approbation. . . .

While the holy house was on fire, everything was plundered that came to hand and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain; nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity; but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives, as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the Temple were very great, one would have thought that the whole city was on fire. Nor can any one imagine anything either greater or more terrible than this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill; and besides many of those that were worn away with the famine, and their mouths almost closed when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and broke out into groans and outcries again; Perea did also return the echo as well as the mountains round about the city, and augmented the force of the entire noise. Yet was the misery itself more terrible than the disorder, for one would have thought that the hill itself, upon which the Temple stood, was seething hot, as full of fire on every part of it, that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire and those

that were slain more in number than those that slew them; for the ground did nowhere appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay upon it: but the soldiers went over the heaps of these bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews,* V-VI.)

Chapter II

RELIGION AND MORALITY

THE SYMBOLS OF THE TEMPLE

THE holy house, which was placed in the midst of the inmost court, was reached by twelve steps; and in front its height and its breadth were equal, and each an hundred cubits, though it was thirty cubits narrower behind, for in front it had what might be styled shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits farther. Its first gate was seventy cubits high and twenty-five cubits broad: but this gate had no doors; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which, as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them; but then, as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty; but that gate, which was at this end of the first part of the house, was all covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it; it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung, as tall as man's height; but then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer and had golden doors of twenty-five cubits altitude, and sixteen in breadth; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue and fine linen, and scarlet and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mix-

ture of colours without mystical interpretation; but was a kind of image of the universe: for by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air and by the purple the sea. The curtain had also embroidered on it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the twelve signs, representing living creatures. . . .

Now in this part of the Temple there were three things that were very wonderful and famous among all mankind: the candlestick, the table of shewbread and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now, the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the Zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices with which the sea replenished it, signified that God is possessor of all things that are both in the uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to His use. But the inmost part of the Temple of all was twenty cubits. This was separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and inviolable and not to be seen by any; and was called the Holy of Holies. Now about the sides of the lower part of the Temple there were little houses, with passages out of one into the other; there were a great many of them and they were three stories high; there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the Temple.

Now the outward face of the Temple in its front lacked nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those that forced themselves to look upon it to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But the Temple appeared to strangers, when they were at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow, for those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews.*)

SIMON THE HIGH PRIEST

Simon the High Priest, the son of Onias, who in his life repaired the house again, and in his days fortified the Temple: how was he honoured in the midst of the people in his coming out of the sanctuary! He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full: as the sun shining upon the Temple of the Most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds; and as the flower of roses in the spring of the year, as the lilies by the rivers of waters, and as the branches of the frankincense tree in the time of the summer; as fire and incense in the censer, and as a vessel of beaten gold set with all manner of precious stones; and as a fair olive tree budding forth fruit, and as a cypress tree which groweth up to the clouds. When he put on the robe of honour, and was clothed with the perfection of glory, when he went up to the holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honourable. When he took the portions out of the priests' hands, he himself stood by the hearth of the altar, compassed with his brethren round about, as a young cedar in Libanus, and as palm-trees compassed they him round about. So were all the sons of Aaron in their glory, and the oblations of the Lord in their hands, before all the congregation of Israel.

And finishing the service at the altar, that he might adorn the offering of the most high Almighty, he stretched forth his hand to the cup, and poured out the blood of the grape; he poured out at the foot of the altar a sweet-smelling savour unto the most high King of all. Then shouted the sons of Aaron and sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard, for a remembrance before the Most High.

Then all the people together hasted, and fell down to the earth upon their faces to worship the Lord God Almighty, the Most High. The singers also sang praises with their voices; with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody. And the people besought the Lord, the Most High, by prayer

before him that is merciful, till the solemnity of the Lord was ended, and they had finished his service.

Then he went down and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the Children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoice in his name. (*Ecclesiasticus* 50.)

THE FESTIVAL OF FIRST FRUITS

In what manner were the tributes of first fruits brought to Jerusalem? All the inhabitants of the villages within a certain district would come together in the chief town, and would spend the night in the open spaces of the town, without entering any house. Early in the morning one of their chiefs would say: "Come, let us go up toward Zion, towards the House of the Eternal, our God." Those that lived close by brought fresh figs and bunches of grapes: and those that lived at a distance brought dried figs and raisins. An ox marched before them on the way, his horns painted with gold and crowned with a wreath of olive, and a flute went before and played till they came to the outskirts of Jerusalem. Forthwith they sent messengers to precede them, and crowned their first fruits. The messengers of the Priests and Levites and the Masters of the Treasury came forth to meet them, in numbers suitable to the dignity of the pilgrims; as they went by through the streets, the craftsmen of Jerusalem rose to their feet and greeted them: "Brothers, be welcome." The flute took up its playing again till they reached the Mount of the Temple. Then each one of them, including King Agrippa, put his basket on his shoulder and carried it as far as the court of the sanctuary. And as the procession entered they heard the singing of the Levites: "I will exalt Thee, Lord, for Thou hast raised me out of the deeps." (*Bikkurim.*)

THE SYNAGOGUE OF ALEXANDRIA

He who has not seen the double gallery, in Alexandria, Egypt, has not seen Israel in his glory. It was built like a great basilica, with one gallery within the other. Sixty myriads of men were sometimes assembled therein, as many as once went out of Egypt, and even double that number, it is said; and for the seventy-one elders there were seventy-one thrones of gold, each of which had cost not less than twenty-five myriads of gold deniers. In the centre there was a rostrum of wood, and the *Chazan* stood there holding a flag: and at every passage which called for the response of Amen, he would give the signal with his flag, and the entire people would chant: "Amen." The faithful did not take their places in disorder. The jewellers had their place, the silversmiths theirs, the coppersmiths theirs, and so it was with the miners and the weavers. And when a stranger or a poor man entered, he recognized at once the brothers of his profession, and addressed himself to them, and received succour for himself and his family. (*Succa.*)

THE BENEDICTION OF THE PRIESTS

God, our God, and the God of our fathers, do Thou bless us with the threefold blessing of that Torah which was written by the hand of Moses and pronounced by the lips of Aaron and the priests his sons on the people sanctified to Thee: The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make His face to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee; the Lord turn His countenance unto thee and give thee peace. (*The Prayer-Book.*)

EVENING PRAYER

Cantor: Bless ye the Lord, for ever blessed.

Congregation: Blessed be the Lord, the blessed for ever and ever.

Blessed art Thou, O God, King of the Universe, Who with Thy word bringest twilight on, Who with Thy wisdom openest the gates of night, Who with Thy understanding givest change and revolution to the seasons: Thou orderest the appointed motion of the stars in heaven according to Thy will, creating day and night, that the darkness may be rolled away before the light, and the light rolled away before the darkness. He that bringeth on the setting of the day and the coming on of night, and divideth the twain—the Lord of Hosts is His name, the Living, the Potent God, and He shall reign over us for ever and evermore.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who bringest on the twilight.

This was an eternal love Thou gavest to the House of Israel, Thy people, teaching them Thy Torah, laws, statutes and commandments. And they shall be on our lips, O God our God, when we lie down to sleep and when we rise. We will be happy to the end of all time in these Thy Commandments, for to us they are life itself and the prolongation of our days. Day and night shall we meditate upon them, that for evermore Thy love shall not be turned away from us.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who lovest Thy people, Israel. (*The Prayer-Book.*)

MORNING PRAYER

Cantor: Bless ye the Lord, for ever blessed.

Congregation: Blessed be the Lord, the blessed for ever and ever.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, King of the Universe, who didst fashion the light and create the darkness, Who didst make peace, Who didst create all things.

Out of Thy compassion didst thou illumine the world and them that dwell therein, out of Thy goodness Thou renewest daily the work of creation. Multitudinous are Thy creations, and all of them conceived in wisdom, and the earth is filled with Thy possessions. Thou alone art exalted King, Thou

alone art extolled and glorified from the beginning of time. Lord of the world, in Thine infinite compassion be compassionate with us. God of our strength, rock of our fortress! be Thou the shield of our deliverance, be Thou our defence. Thou, the Blessed, the infinitely Wise, Thou hast understood and wrought the splendour of the sun: Thou, the Blessed, the infinitely Good, Thou hast created for the glory of Thy name. Thou hast surrounded with light the places of Thy strength; among Thy hosts exalting Thee, the Holy Ones, Almighty, repeat unceasingly Thy sanctity and glory. Be Thou blessed, O Lord our God, because of the blessed work of Thy hands, because of the shining brightnesses Thou hast created: they shall glorify Thee for ever.

Be Thou blessed, our Rock, our King, our Redeemer. The Holy Ones, O King, will praise Thy name for ever. Thou didst create the attendant angels, and now they stand in high places of glory, and their voices are heard like one voice, uttering the words of the Living God, the King of the Universe. All of them are beloved, all of them are pure, all of them are mighty, and all of them perform, in reverence and terror, the will of their Master. On the lips of all of them are sanctity and purity, eternal song and melody, glorifying Thee, sanctifying Thee and proclaiming Thee King.

God, the King, the great, the terrible, the mighty, He alone is holy.

And all of them, each from each, take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, and each calls to each to sanctify their Creator, in joy and in purity. And with a single voice they cry, and in fear proclaim: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, earth is filled with His glory. The Ophanim, the Hayoth Ha-Kodesh, with a great rushing sound, lift up their voices over against the Seraphim, and say: From this His place let the glory of God be blessed. They give forth songs of delight to the King, the living and the potent God. They utter melodies that His praise might be heard; Worker in mightiness, Creator of newness, Lord of battles,

Sower of righteousness, Bringer of salvation, Creator of cures, Lord of wonders, terrible in praise, daily renewing in goodness the works of creation. For it is said: Praise to the Maker of the great stars, for His mercy is everlasting; Thou wilt light a new glory over Zion, and it shall be given us all to delight in its splendour. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Creator of the stars.

God, our God, Thou hast loved us with a great love, and on us Thou hast poured a great and ever greater mercy. Our Father, our King, because of our forefathers, who trusted in Thee, and Thou didst teach them the laws of the way of the life, because of them, be Thou gracious unto us, and teach us also. Father, merciful Father, be merciful unto us, and open our hearts to understanding and wisdom, that we may hear and learn and teach, that we may listen and obey and fulfil in love the words of Thy Torah. Light our eyes with the light of Thy Torah, cause our hearts to cleave to Thy commandments, unite our hearts in the love and terror of Thy name, that confusion may never be ours. For we have placed our trust in Thy name, Thy great and holy and terrible name, and joy and delight will be ours in Thy salvation. Bring us again in peace from the four corners of the earth, back in safety to our land. . . . For Thou art the Lord who worketh salvation, and Thou hast chosen us from among all tongues and nations, and brought us close to Thee, and to Thy great name, that we may praise Thee and proclaim Thy unity in love. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who hast chosen Thy people Israel with love. (*The Prayer-Book.*)

SHEMONEH ESREH (THE PRAYER OF THE EIGHTEEN BENEDICTIONS)

Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God and the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Jacob and the God of Isaac, the great, the mighty and terrible God, Thou Who art gracious in goodness, to Whom all belongs. Thou re-

memberest the merit of the fathers, and bringest salvation to the sons of men, in love and for Thy name's sake. Thou art King and Saviour; Blessed art Thou, Shield of Abraham. Thou, O Lord, art for ever mighty; Thou bringest the dead to life and art infinite in salvation. In Thy compassion Thou sustainest life, in Thy graciousness Thou restorest the dead; Thou supportest those that fall, Thou healest the sick, Thou enlargest the chains of the prisoner, and keepest faith with those that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto Thee, a Lord of might, who can be likened unto Thee, Who restorest the dead and bringest forth salvation? . . . Holy art Thou and Thy name is holy, and day by day the Holy Ones will praise thee for ever. Blessed art Thou, O God of holiness.

Thou bestowest knowledge on man, and teachest him understanding. Grant us knowledge, understanding and wisdom. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, bestower of knowledge.

Turn us again, our Father, to Thy Torah, and draw us near, O King, to Thy service, and bring us to Thee again in complete repentance. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who desirest the penitent.

Forgive us, our Lord, for we have sinned, pardon us, O King, for we have transgressed, for Thou forgivest and pardonest. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who forgivest greatly in graciousness.

Look thou upon our wretchedness and take up our cause, deliver us soon, for Thy name's sake, for Thou art mighty in deliverance. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, deliverer of Israel.

Heal us, O Lord, that we may be healed, and redeem us, that we may be redeemed: and send down the cure for all our ills, for Thou art the King that heals, the faithful and merciful King. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who healest the sick of Thy people Israel.

Bless this year for us, O Lord our God, and all the fruits of this year, and let Thy blessing rest upon the face of earth. Satisfy us with Thy goodness, and bless this year as one of

the good years. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who blessest the years.

Let the great trumpet peal for our liberation, and lift up a banner to gather our exiles, and gather us from the four corners of earth. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who gatherest the outcasts of Thy people Israel. . . .

And for them that slander let all hope be darkened, and let those that do evil be lost in a flash, and let the vicious be destroyed and broken, soon, and in our days. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who destroyest enemies and humblest the vicious.

But let Thy pity be poured out, O Lord our God, on the just and the pious, and on the elders of the house of Israel, Thy people, and on the scribes that still remain, and on the strangers who are just, and on us. Give Thou good recompense to those that put their trust in Thy name, and let our portion be with them for ever, and we shall not be put to shame, for in Thee is our trust. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the stay and comfort of the just.

And turn again in pity to Jerusalem, Thy city; make Thy dwelling-place therein, according to Thy promise. And build it soon, in our days, that it may endure for ever. . . .

Give ear to our voice, O Lord our God, be merciful and compassionate, and receive our prayer in mercy and with favour, for Thou art the God Who receivest prayer and supplication, and let us not be turned back empty from before Thee, for Thou hearest with compassion the prayers of Thy people Israel. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who hearkenest unto prayer. . . .

Humbly we confess that Thou art the Lord our God and the God of our fathers for ever and ever, our Rock and the shield of our deliverance, from generation to generation. We will thank Thee and recount Thy praises, because of our life which is held in Thy hand, because of our souls which Thou hast in Thy care, because of Thy miracles which are with us

day by day, because of Thy wonders and gifts, evening and morning and noon. . . . (*The Prayer-Book.*)

ALENU

It is for us to praise the Lord of all, to utter the greatness of the Creator of the beginning, that He hath not made us like the peoples of the earth nor placed us among the families of the world, that our portion is not like theirs and our destiny is not in their multitude, and we bow and adore the King of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He. For He hath stretched out the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth, and the dwelling-place of His glory is in the heavens above, and the spirit of His strength is beyond all the heights. He is our God, and there is none other. Our King is Truth, and beside Him there is nothing. As it is written in our Torah: And thou shalt know this day, and shalt make it firm in thy heart, that the Lord He is God in heaven above and on the earth below and there is none other.

Our hope is therefore in Thee, O Lord our God, that we may see Thee soon in the glory of Thy strength, when Thou wilt uproot the abominations of the world and destroy the idols utterly, and establish a world to be a kingdom of the Almighty. Then all things of flesh and blood will invoke Thy name, and all the wicked will turn back unto Thee. And all those that dwell on earth shall know that to Thee every knee must be bent, and by Thee every tongue must swear. Before Thee, O Lord, shall they fall and be prostrate, and to Thy name shall they utter glory. And they will receive the yoke of Thy Kingdom upon themselves, and Thou shalt reign over them for ever. For Thine is the Kingdom and for evermore shalt Thou reign. As it is written in Thy Torah: The Lord will reign for ever and ever. And as it is said: And in that day the Lord shall reign over the whole world, and the Lord and His name shall be one. (*The Prayer-Book.*)

THE GREAT PARDON

Thou stretchest out Thy hand to the transgressor, and Thy right hand is open to receive the penitent. Thou hast taught us, O Lord, to confess all our sins before Thee, that our hands may cease from wickedness. For when we turn to Thee in true repentance, Thou wilt receive us as Thou didst receive the burnt offerings and the offerings of sweet spices, because of the words Thou hast said. For our sins there should be burnt offerings without number, and for our transgressions sweet multitudes of spices. But Thou Who knowest that our end is the worm, Thou art infinite in forgiveness. What are we and what is our life? What is our goodness, our piety, our salvation? What is our strength and our might? What shall we say before Thee, God, our God and the God of our fathers? Is not all strength as nothing before Thee, and all mighty men as if they were not? Are not the learned void of understanding before Thee, and the wise without wisdom? For the greatest part of their work is emptiness, and the days of their life are vanity before Thee, and in nothing is man more than the beast, for all is vanity.

But from the beginning didst Thou make a distinction for man, and hast favoured him that he might stand before Thee. And though he be righteous, what shall he be given? But in Thy love Thou hast given us this day of fasting, this day of atonement, a boundary, for pardon and forgiveness for our sins, that our hands may cease from wickedness, that we may turn again to Thee and perform the laws of Thy will with all our heart. And Thou, in Thy great mercy, wilt be merciful to us, for Thy desire is not to destroy the earth. As it is said: Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call upon Him while He is near at hand. And it is said: Let the wicked abandon his way and the man of sin his thoughts. Let him return to God, for He will be merciful to him, to the Lord our God, for He forgiveth greatly. And Thou art the God of

forgiveness, gracious and merciful, slow to anger, infinite in graciousness and truth and goodness. And Thou desirest the repentance of the wicked, and delightest not in slaying them. As it is said: And say unto them, As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but I delight in the repentance of the wicked, when he turns from his ways and lives. Return, return from your evil ways, O House of Israel, for wherefore should ye die? And it is said: Do I desire the death of the wicked? declares the Lord God. Do I not desire that he turn from his evil and live? And it is said: I have no delight in the death of men, saith the Lord, but in those that return and live. For Thou art the pardoner of Israel, and dost absolve the tribes of Jeshurun from generation to generation, and beside Thee there is none, O King Who pardonest and forgivest. (*The Prayer-Book.*)

KADDISH (FOR THE DEAD)

Magnified and sanctified be His great name throughout the world which He hath created according to His will: may He establish His Kingdom in our days and in the days of the whole house of Israel, speedily and soon, and say ye, Amen. May His great name be blessed and glorified for ever and ever. May His hallowed name be praised, glorified, exalted, magnified, honoured and adored: blessed is He, beyond all blessings, hymns, praises and beatitudes that are uttered throughout the world, and say ye, Amen. Receive our prayer in mercy and with favour. May the prayers and supplications of all the House of Israel be received before the Father Who is in heaven, and say ye, Amen. Blessed be the name of the Lord from now on and for evermore. May life and the fulness of peace be granted unto us and unto all Israel, and say ye, Amen. My help is from the Lord, Who made the heavens and earth. He that maketh peace in the upper world, may He bring peace unto us and unto all Israel, and say ye, Amen. (*The Prayer-Book.*)

THE COUNSEL OF A FATHER

My son, when I am dead, bury me, and despise not thy mother, but honour her all the days of thy life, and do that which shall please her and grieve her not. Remember, my son, that she saw many dangers for thee, when thou wast in her womb; and when she is dead, bury her by me in one grave. My son, be mindful of the Lord our God all thy days, and let not thy will be set to sin or to transgress his commandments, and follow not the ways of unrighteousness. . . .

Beware of all whoredom, my son, and take a wife of the seed of thy fathers, and take not a strange woman to wife, which is not of thy father's tribe, for we are the children of the prophets, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: remember, my son, that our fathers from the beginning, even that they all married wives of their own kindred, and were blessed in their children, and their seed shall inherit the land. Now therefore, my son, love thy brethren, and despise not in thy heart thy brethren, the sons and daughters of thy people, in not taking a wife of them; for in pride is destruction and much trouble, and in lewdness is decay and great want; for lewdness is the mother of famine. Let not the wages of any man, which hath wrought for thee, tarry with thee, but give it him out of hand: for if thou serve God he will also repay thee: be circumspect, my son, in all things thou dost, and be wise in all thy conversation. Do that to no man which thou hatest: drink not wine to make thee drunken; neither let drunkenness go with thee in thy journey. Give of thy bread to the hungry, and of thy garments to those that are naked; and according to thine abundance give alms; and let not thine eye be envious, when thou givest alms. Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked. Ask counsel of all that are wise, and despise not any counsel that is profitable. Bless the Lord thy God alway and desire of him that thy ways may be directed, and that all thy paths

and counsels may prosper; for every nation hath not counsel, but the Lord himself giveth all good things, and he humbleth whom he will as he will; now therefore, my son, remember my commandments, neither let them be put out of thy mind. (*Tobit* 4: 3-19.)

PEACE OF MIND

Give not over thy mind to heaviness, and afflict not thyself in thine own counsel. The gladness of the heart is the life of man, and the joyfulness of a man prolongeth his days. Love thine own soul, and comfort thy heart, remove sorrow far from thee: for sorrow hath killed many and there is no profit therein. Envy and wrath shorten the life, and carefulness bringeth age before the time. A cheerful and good heart will have a care of his meat and diet. Watching for riches consumeth the flesh, and the care thereof driveth away sleep. Watching care will not let a man slumber, as a sore disease breaketh sleep. (*Ecclesiasticus* 30: 21—31: 2.)

MOURNING

My son, let tears fall down over the dead, and begin to lament, as if thou hadst suffered great harm thyself; and then cover his body according to the custom and neglect not his burial. Weep bitterly, and make great moan, and use lamentation, as he is worthy, and that for a day or two, lest thou be evil spoken of: and then comfort thyself for thy heaviness. For of heaviness cometh death, and the heaviness of the heart breaketh strength. In affliction also sorrow remaineth: and the life of the poor is the curse of the heart. Take no heaviness to heart: drive it away, and remember the last end. Forget it not that there is no turning again: thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself. Remember the sentence upon him, for thine shall also be so; yesterday for me and to-day for thee. When the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest;

and be comforted for him, when his spirit is departed from him. (*Ecclesiasticus* 38: 16-23.)

THY WIFE

Be not jealous over the wife of thy bosom, and teach her not an evil lesson against thyself. Give not thy soul unto a woman, to set her foot on thy substance; meet not with an harlot lest thou fall into her snares. Use not much the company of a woman that playeth upon instruments, lest thou be taken with her attempts. Gaze not on a maid, that thou fall not by those things that are precious in her. Give not thy soul unto harlots, that thou lose not thine inheritance. Look not round about thee in the streets of the city, neither wander thou in the solitary places thereof. Turn thine eye away from a beautiful woman, and look not upon another's beauty; for many have been deceived by the beauty of a woman; for herewith love is kindled as a fire. Sit not at all with another man's wife, nor sit down with her in thine arms, and spend not thy money with her at the wine; lest thine heart incline unto her, and so through thy desire thou fall into destruction. (*Ecclesiasticus* 9: 1-9.)

ALMS

Water will quench a flaming fire; and alms maketh an atonement for sins. And he that requiteth good turns is mindful of that which may come hereafter; and when he falleth he shall find a stay. My son, defraud not the poor of his living, and make not the needy eyes to wait long. Make not an hungry soul sorrowful; neither provoke a man in his distress. Add not more trouble to an heart that is vexed: and defer not to give to him that is in need. Reject not the supplication of the afflicted; neither turn away thy face from a poor man. Turn not away thine eye from the needy, and give him not occasion to curse thee: for if he curse thee in the bitterness

of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him. Get thyself the love of the congregation, and bow thy head to a great man. Let it not grieve thee to bow down thine ear to the poor, and give him a friendly answer with meekness. Deliver him that suffereth wrong from the hand of the oppressor; and be not faint-hearted when thou sittest in judgment. Be as a father to the fatherless, and instead of an husband unto their mother; so shalt thou be as the son of the most High, and he shall love thee more than thy mother doth. (*Ecclesiasticus* 3: 30—4: 10.)

FORGIVENESS

He that revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins in remembrance. Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon from the Lord? He showeth no mercy to a man which is like himself: yet doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins. If he that is but flesh nourish hatred, who will intreat for pardon of his sins? Remember thy end and let enmity cease; remember corruption and death, and abide in the commandments. Remember the commandments and bear no malice to thy neighbour; remember the covenant of the Highest, and wink at ignorance. (*Ecclesiasticus* 28: 1-7.)

THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF THE JUST

But though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest. . . . For his soul pleased the Lord, therefore hasted he to take him away from among the wicked. This the people saw and understood it not, neither laid they up this in their minds, that his grace and mercy is with his saints, and that he hath respect unto his chosen. Thus the righteous that is dead shall condemn the ungodly that are living: and

youth that is soon perfected, the many years and old age of the unrighteous. For they shall see the end of the wise, and shall not see what God in his counsel hath decreed of him, and to what end the Lord hath set him in safety. They shall see him and despise him, but God shall laugh them to scorn. . . . And when they cast up the account of their sins, they shall come with fear: and their own iniquities shall convince them to their face. Then shall the righteous man stand in great boldness before the face of such as have afflicted him, and made no account of his labours. When they shall see it they shall be troubled with terrible fear, and shall be amazed at the strangeness of his salvation. (*Wisdom of Solomon* 4: 7—5: 2.)

THE HANDING DOWN OF THE TRADITION

Moses received the Torah on Sinai and handed it down to Joshua; Joshua to the elders; the elders to the Prophets; and the Prophets handed it down to the members of the Great Synagogue. They said three things: be deliberate in judgment, raise up many disciples, and put a fence round the Torah.

Simon the Just was among the last of the members of the Great Synagogue; he was wont to say: "The world is sustained by three things, the Torah, sacred service and the practice of charity."

Antigonos of Socho received the tradition from Simon the Just. He was wont to say: "Ye shall not be like servants who serve their master for the sake of hire: ye shall be like servants who serve their master not for the sake of hire. Let the fear of God be with you. . . ."

Rabbi Jehusa the son of Tabbi, and Simon the son of Shetach, in turn handed down the tradition to Shemaya and Abtalion. Shemaya said: "Love work, hate lordship and do not ingratiate yourself with those in authority." Abtalion said: "Ye sages, be guarded in your words, lest ye incur the penalty of exile, and be exiled to a place of evil waters, and

the disciples who come after you drink of these waters, and die, and the name of God will be profaned."

Shemaya and Abtalion handed on the tradition to Hillel and Shammai. (*Pirke Aboth,* I.)

THE PHARISEES

The Pharisees are those that are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of our laws and ceremonies. They ascribe all to fate or providence and to God, and yet allow that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although fate does co-operate in every action. They say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men are only removed into other bodies—but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment.

THE SADDUCEES

The Sadducees take away fate entirely and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they say that to act what is good or what is evil is at men's own choice and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul and the punishments and rewards in Hades. The Pharisees are friendly toward one another, and are for the exercise of concord and regard of the public; but the behaviour of the Sadducees one toward another is somewhat wild; and their conversation toward those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them.

THE ESSENES

The Essenes are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. The Essenes reject pleasures as an evil, but esteem continence, and

the conquest over our passions, to be virtue. They neglect wedlock, but choose out other persons' children, while they are pliable and fit for learning; and esteem them to be of their own kindred and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succession of mankind thereby continued; but they guard against the lascivious behaviour of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man.

These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as to raise our admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them who hath more than another; for it is a law among them that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order,—insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of poverty or excess of riches, but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions; and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. . . .

As for their piety toward God, it is very extraordinary; for before sunrising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising. After this they are all sent away by their curators, to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour. After which they assemble themselves together again in one place; and when they have clothed themselves in white veils they then bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they every one meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any of another sect to enter; while they go, after a pure manner, into the dining-room, as into a certain temple, and quietly sit themselves down; upon which the baker lays before them loaves in order; the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food and sets it before every one of them. . . . Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance to pollute their house, but they give

every one leave to speak in their turn; which silence thus kept in their house appears to foreigners like some tremendous mystery, the cause of which is that perpetual sobriety they exercise, and some settled measure of meat and drink that is allotted to them, and that such as is abundantly sufficient for them. . . .

They dispense their anger after a just manner and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity and are the ministers of peace; whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them and they esteem it worse than perjury; for they say that he who cannot be believed without swearing by God is already condemned.

But if any one hath a mind to come over into their sect, he is not immediately admitted, but he is prescribed the same method of living which they use, for a year, while he continues excluded; and they give him a small hatchet and the girdle and the white garment. And when he hath given evidence, during that time, that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of the waters of purification; yet is he not even now admitted to live with them; for after this demonstration of his fortitude, his temper is tried two more years, and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths; that in the first place he will exercise piety toward God; and then, that he will observe justice toward all men; and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord or by the command of others; that he will always hate the wicked and be assistant to the righteous; that he will ever show fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority, nor endeavour to outshine his subjects either in his garments or any other finery; that he will be perpetually a lover of truth and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies; that he will keep his hands clear from theft and his soul from unlawful gains. . . .

The Essenes are stricter than other Jews in resting from

their labours on the seventh day; for they not only get their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but they will not remove any vessel out of its place, nor satisfy, unless forced, the needs of nature. . . .

They contemn the miseries of life and are above pain, by the generosity of their mind. As for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always; and indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they had in their trials, wherein, though they were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator or to eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to do either of them, no, nor once to flatter their tormentors, nor to shed a tear; but they smiled in their very pains, and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as expecting to receive them again.

For their doctrine is this: "That bodies are corruptible and the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal and continue for ever; and that they come out of the most subtle air, and are united to their bodies as in prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; but that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward." (Josephus, *Wars of the Jews,* II, X.)

HILLEL (DIED 10 C.E.)

First Studies

It is related that Hillel earned half a denier daily by his work, and with half of this he kept himself and his family while the other half he gave to the porter of the Beth-Hamedrish (the House of Study). One day he could find no work, and the porter refused him admittance. Thereupon

he climbed on to the roof and seated himself by the skylight, that he might hear from there the living words of God from the lips of Shemaya and Abtalion. It is related that this was on the eve of the Sabbath, in the winter month of Tebeth. Snow fell from the skies and covered him. When the dawn came up Shemaya said to Abtalion: "Abtalion, my brother, during the day it is always light in here, but to-day it is dark. Is it perhaps a cloud?" They lifted their eyes and saw the image of a man against the skylight. And men were sent up, and they found Hillel buried under three cubits of snow. They brought him down and washed him and tended him and seated him near the fire. And they said: "For such a man one may even profane the Sabbath."

The Gentleness of Hillel

One man wagered with another that he would put Hillel into a rage, and the wager was for four hundred *susim.* On the eve of the Sabbath this man went to the house of Hillel, just when Hillel was dressing his hair. He knocked at the door and asked: "Is Hillel at home? Is Hillel at home?" The sage put on his mantle, led the man in and asked: "What is your wish, my son?" "I have a question to ask," replied the other. "Ask, my son." "Why are the heads of the Babylonians flat?" "A very important question, my son," answered Hillel. "It is because their midwives are unskilful." The man went away, returned an hour later, and cried: "Is Hillel at home? Is Hillel at home?" The sage dressed himself hastily, led the man in and asked: "What is your wish, my son." "I have a question to ask," replied the man. "Ask." "Why have the inhabitants of Tadmor [Palmyra] diseased eyes?" "An important question, my son. It is because they live in a sandy country." The questioner withdrew, returned an hour later, and cried again: "Is Hillel at home? Is Hillel at home?" The sage put on his mantle, led the man in and said: "What is your wish, my son?" "I have a question to ask. "Ask." "Why have the Africans large feet?"

"A very important question," answered Hillel. "It is because they live in a swampy country." "I have many questions to ask," said the man, "but I am afraid of angering you." "I want to hear whatever questions you have," answered Hillel. Then the other said: "Are you indeed the Hillel whom they of Israel name prince?" "I am he." "I do not wish them many like you." "And why?" "Because you have made me lose four hundred *susim.*" (*Sabbath.*)

Sayings of Hillel

Hillel said: "Sunder not thyself from the public. Trust not in thyself until the day of thy death. Judge not thy neighbour until thou hast been in his place. Do not express thyself unclearly in the hope of being understood later. Say not: I will study when I have leisure: perchance thou wilt have no leisure.

"The fool cannot fear sin, nor can the ignorant man be pious. The shy man cannot learn, neither can the passionate man teach. He that is too much taken with business cannot become wise. In a place where there are no men, try to be a man.

"The more flesh, the more worms; the more wealth, the more worry . . . the more Torah, the more life; the more study, the more wisdom; the more charity, the more peace; he who gets himself a good name, gets it for this life: he that gets himself the words of the Torah gets himself eternal life." (*Pirke Aboth* II, 4-7.)

The School of Hillel and the School of Shammai

The Rabbis taught: "Be gentle, like Hillel, not violent, like Shammai." An idolater came before Shammai and asked: "How many kinds of law have you?" "Two," was the answer; "the written and the oral." "I accept the first," replied the pagan, "but I reject the other. Receive me into Judaism, on condition that you teach me only the written law." Shammai insulted him and sent him off. The idolater went to

Hillel with the same request. The master accepted. The first day he taught him the alphabet, and the second day he began the letters again, but in different order. "But you taught me this in a different order yesterday," said the pagan. "So you trusted me?" said Hillel. "Is not that trusting the oral law?"

Another pagan came before Shammai and said: "I will become a Jew: but you must teach me the whole of the law while I can stand on one leg." Shammai struck him with the ruler he held in his hand, and sent him off. The idolater addressed himself to Hillel with the same request, and the master answered: "That which you would not have others do unto you, do not do unto others. This is the whole of the Law. The rest is but commentary. Go and learn it." (*Sabbath.*)

For three years the schools of Hillel and Shammai disputed, each one claiming "Our decisions are the Law." Finally a voice was heard from heaven: "Both these and these are the words of the living God: but only the words of Hillel are the Law." But if both were the words of the living God, then why were the words of Hillel alone found worthy of being the Law? Because the followers of Hillel were gentle and patient, and they taught, together with their own views, the views of Shammai. More—they even taught the views of the school of Shammai before they taught their own. . . . And this teaches that he who humbles himself exalts God; he that exalts himself, humbles God. He that pursues greatness, greatness flees from him: and he that flees from greatness, greatness pursues him. (*Erubin.*)

Chapter III

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

THE DWELLING-PLACE OF GOD

And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me, and a mist summoned me, and the course of the stars and lightnings hastened me, and the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven. And I went in till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright me. And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals: and the walls of the house were like a tessellated floor of crystals, and its groundwork was of crystal. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars, and the lightnings, and between them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was as clear as water. A flaming sword surrounded the walls, and its portals blazed with fire. And I entered that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice; there were no delights of life therein, and trembling got hold upon me. And as I quaked and trembled I fell upon my face. And I beheld a vision, and lo, there was a second house, greater than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent, that I cannot describe to you its splendour and extent. And its floor was of fire and above it were lightnings, and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne; its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of cherubim.

And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him, yet he needed no counsellor. And the most holy ones who were nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling: and the Lord called unto me with His own mouth, and said to me: Come hither, Enoch, and hear my word. And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me, and He made me rise up and approach the door; and I bowed my face downwards. (*The Book of Enoch*, 14: 8-25.)

THE ABODE OF THE ELECT ONE, THE MESSIAH

And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth, and set me down at the end of the heavens. And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy, and the resting-places of the righteous. Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with the righteous angels, and their resting-places with the holy. And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men, and righteousness flowed before them as water, and mercy like dew upon the earth; thus it is amongst them for ever and ever. And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith, and I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits. And righteousness shall prevail in his days, and the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever. And all the righteous and elect before him shall be strong as fiery lights, and their mouth shall be full of blessing, and their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits, and

righteousness before Him shall never fail. There I wished to dwell, and my spirit longed for that dwelling-place: and there heretofore has been my portion, for so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits. . . . For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying: Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. . . .

And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. And on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names: for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things. And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of Glory. The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. And the second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits. And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: "Who are those four presences which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?" And he said to me: "The first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set above all the powers, is Gabriel; and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel." And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days. (*The Book of Enoch*, 39: 3—40: 10.)

MAN ABOVE THE ANGELS

And with a heavy sigh, the devil spoke: O Adam! All my hostility, envy and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens in the midst of the angels and for thee was I cast out in the earth. And Adam answered: What dost thou tell me? What have I done to thee or what is my fault against thee? Seeing that thou hast received no harm or injury from us, why dost thou pursue us?

The devil replied: Adam, what dost thou tell me? It is for thy sake that I have been hurled from that place. When thou wast formed I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made us worship thee in the sight of God; and God the Lord spoke: Here is Adam. I have made thee in our image and likeness.

And Michael went out and called all the angels, saying: Worship the image of God as the Lord God hath commanded.

And Michael himself worshipped; then he called me and said: Worship the image of God the Lord. And I answered: I have no need to worship Adam. And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him: But why dost thou urge me? I will not worship an inferior and younger being. I am his senior in the Creation, before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me.

When the angels who were under me heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael saith: Worship the image of God, but if thou wilt not worship him, the Lord will be wroth with thee. And I said: If he be wroth with me I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be the Highest.

And God the Lord was wroth with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on thy account were we

expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of so great glory. And we were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her doing from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory. (*The Lives of Adam and Eve,* 12-16.)

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS

And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them comely and beautiful daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: Come, let us choose wives from among the children of men and beget us children. And Semjaza, who was their leader, said unto them: I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin. And they all answered and said: Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing. Then sware they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon. . . .

And they all took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and they made them acquainted with plants. And they became pregnant and they bare great giants, whose height was three hundred ells, who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when man could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds and beasts and reptiles and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. The earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

And Azazel taught men to make swords and knives and shields and breastplates, and made known to them all the metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets and ornaments, and the use of antimony and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all colouring tinctures. And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and were led astray and became corrupt in all their ways. Semjaza taught enchantments and root-cuttings, Armaros taught the resolving of enchantments, Baraqijal, astrology, Kokabel, the constellations, Ezeqeel, the knowledge of the clouds, Araqeel, the signs of the earth, Shamsiel, the signs of the sun, and Sariel, the course of the moon. And as men perished they cried, and their cry went up to heaven. . . . (*The Book of Enoch* 6: 1—8: 4.)

SHEOL, OR THE UNDERWORLD

And thence I went to another place, and he showed me in the west another great and high mountain of hard rock. And there were four hollow places in it, deep and very smooth; three of them were dark and one bright, and there was a fountain of water in its midst. And I said: How smooth are these hollow places, and deep and dark to view. Then Raphael answered one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should assemble therein, yea, that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places have been made to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period, till the great judgement comes upon them.

I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice went forth to heaven and made suit. Then I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and said unto him: This spirit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit?

And he answered me, saying: This is the spirit which went

forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men.

Then I asked regarding all the hollow places: Why is one separated from the other?

And he answered me, saying: These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And this division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And this has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain, till the great day of judgement, scourgings and torments of the accursed for ever, so that there may be retribution for their spirits. There he shall bind them for ever. And this division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. And this has been made for the spirits of men who shall not be righteous but sinners, who are godless, and of the lawless they shall be companions; but their spirits shall not be punished in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.

Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: "Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness, who ruleth over the world." . . . (*The Book of Enoch,* 22: 1-14.)

THE WARNING TO THE PEOPLES OF THE EARTH

Hear, O ye people of vaunting Asia and Europe, what prophetic strains of truth I purpose to pour forth, through the honied speech of my mouth from our shrine. No oracle-monger am I of a false Phœbus whom vain men have called a god and falsely termed a seer: but the prophetess of the mighty God whom men's hands fashioned not, like to dumb idols of polished stones. For he has not as his habitation a stone set up in a temple, dumb and helpless, a bugbear of

many woes to mortals. But he is one whom none can see from earth, nor measure with mortal eyes, seeing he was not fashioned by mortal hands. With all-embracing view he beholds all, yet himself is seen by none. He is the murky night, and day, the sun, the stars, and moon, and sea, the haunt of fish; and land and rivers and the source of perennial streams, creatures ordained for sustaining life and showers that cause the cornfield to grow, and trees, and vines and olive-trees. He has driven a goad right through my heart to tell out exactly all that is happening to men now, and all that is to happen, reaching from the first generation to the tenth. For he shall vindicate all by bringing it to pass. But do thou, O people, hearken in all things to the Sibyl as she pours forth true speech from a holy mouth. Happy shall those men be throughout the earth who shall truly love the mighty God, blessing him before eating and drinking, staunch in their godliness. Who, when they see them, shall disown all temples and altars, vain erections of senseless stones, befouled with constant blood of living things and sacrifices of four-footed beasts. But they shall look to the great Glory of the one God, neither committing dastard murder, nor bartering for dishonest gain, which things are altogether evil. Nor do they set their foul affection on another's bed. . . .

Whose conversation and godliness and manners other men will never emulate, men whose affections are set on shamelessness. But mocking them with ribald jest and laughter, fools in their senselessness, they will falsely attribute to them all the dastardly and evil deeds that they shall do. For slow of faith is all the race of men. But when the assizes of the world and of mortals shall come, which God himself shall hold when he judges godly and ungodly alike: then shall he send the ungodly in the fire beneath the murky gloom, and then shall they know what grievous impiety they have committed. But the godly shall remain upon the fruitful field when God has given them breath and life and grace. (*The Sibylline Books*, 4: 1-46.)

THE SIGNS OF THE LAST TIME AND THE END

I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, I beseech thee that thou show thy servant the last of the signs of which thou didst show me a part in the night that is past.

And he answered and said unto me: Stand up upon thy feet and thou shalt hear a voice exceeding loud, and it shall be as if the place whereon thou standest be greatly shaken. When the voice speaks with thee, be thou not terrified: for the word is of the end and the foundations of the earth shall understand that the speech is concerning themselves. They shall tremble and be shaken, for they know that their end is to be changed.

And it happened that when I heard it I stood up upon my feet, and hearkened: and lo, a voice spake, and the sound of it was as the sound of mighty waters.

And it said:

Behold, the days come, and it shall be,
When I am about to draw nigh, to visit the dwellers upon earth,
And when I require from the doers of iniquity the penalty of their iniquity,
And when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete,
And when the Age which is about to pass away shall be sealed,
Then I will show these signs: the books shall be opened before the face of the firmament, and all shall see together.

And one-year-old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth untimely births at three and four months, and these shall live and dance. And suddenly shall the sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty. And the trumpet shall sound aloud, at which men, when they hear it, shall be struck with sudden fear. And at that time friends shall war against friends like enemies, the earth shall be stricken with fear, together with the dwellers thereon, and the springs of the

fountains shall stand still so that for three hours they shall not run. And it shall be, that whosoever shall survive all these things that I have foretold unto thee, he shall be saved and shall see my salvation and the end of my world. And the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth, shall appear. Then shall the heart of the inhabitants of the world be changed and be converted to a different spirit. For evil shall be blotted out, and deceit extinguished; faithfulness shall flourish and corruption be vanquished; and truth, that for so long a time has been without fruit, shall be made manifest. (*Fourth Book of Ezra,* 6: 11-28.)

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

And then from the sunrise God shall send a King, who shall give every land relief from the bane of war; some he shall slay and to others he shall consecrate faithful vows. Nor shall he do all these things by his own will, but in obedience to the good ordinances of the mighty God.

And again the people of the mighty God shall be laden with excellent wealth, with gold and silver and purple adornment. The land shall bear her increase, and the sea shall be full of good things. And the Kings shall be weary of repelling evil one against the other with wrath. Envy is no good thing for miserable mortals. But again the Kings of the nations shall throw themselves against this land in troops, bringing retribution on themselves. For the shrine of the mighty God and the noblest men they shall seek to ravage whensoever they come to the land. In a ring round the city the accursed Kings shall place each one his throne with his infidel people by him. And with a mighty voice God shall speak to all the undisciplined, empty-minded people, and judgment shall come upon them from the mighty God, and all shall perish at the hand of the Eternal. From heaven shall fall fiery swords down to the earth: lights shall come bright and great, flashing into the midst

of men. And earth, the universal Mother, shall shake in those days at the hand of the Eternal, and the fishes in the sea, and all the beasts of the earth, and the countless tribes of flying things, and all souls of men and every sea shall shudder at the presence of the Eternal, and there shall be panic. And the towering mountain peaks and the hills of the giants He shall rend, and the murky abyss shall be visible to all. And the high-hung ravines in the lofty mountains shall be full of dead bodies; the rocks shall flow with blood, and each torrent shall flood the plain. The well-built walls of the disaffected men shall all fall to the ground, because they knew not the law nor the judgment of the Mighty God, but with witless mind, with one united onslaught, ye cast your spears against the Holy One. And God shall judge all with war and sword, and with fire and cataclysms of rain. And there shall be brimstone from heaven, yea, stones and hail, incessant and grievous; and death shall be upon the four-footed beasts. And then they shall know the immortal God who ordains these things. Wailing and lamenting through the length and breadth of the land shall come with the perishing of men; and all the shameless shall be washed with blood. Yea, the land itself shall drink of the blood of the perishing; the beasts shall eat their fill of flesh. . . .

Then again all the sons of the great God shall live quietly around the temple, rejoicing in those gifts which he shall give, who is the Creator and sovereign, righteous Judge. For he by himself shall shield them, standing beside them alone in his might, encircling them, as it were, with a wall of flaming fire. Free from war shall they be in city and country. . . . And then all the isles and the cities shall say: How doth the Eternal love those men. (*The Sibylline Books,* 3: 652-711.)

THE GENERAL RESURRECTION

And the earth shall restore those that sleep in her, and the dust those that are at rest therein, and the chambers shall

restore those that were committed unto them. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgment: and then cometh the end, and compassion shall pass away, and pity be far off, and long-suffering withdrawn; but judgment alone shall remain, truth shall stand and faithfulness triumph. And recompense shall follow and the reward be made manifest; deeds of righteousness shall awake, and deeds of iniquity shall not sleep. And then shall the pit of torment appear, and over against it the place of refreshment; the furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest, and over against it the Paradise of delight. And then shall the Most High say to the nations that have been raised from the dead: Look now and consider whom ye have denied, whom ye have not served, whose commandments ye have despised. Look now before you; here delight and refreshments, there fire and torments! Thus shall he speak unto them in the Day of Judgment, for thus shall the Day of Judgment be: a day whereon is neither sun, nor moon, nor stars; neither clouds, nor thunder nor lightning; neither wind, nor rain-storm, nor cloud-rack; neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning; neither summer, nor autumn, nor winter; neither heat, nor frost, nor cold; neither hail, nor rain nor dew; neither noon, nor night, nor dawn; neither shining, nor brightness, nor light, save only the splendour of the brightness of the Most High, whereby all shall be destined to see what has been determined. (*Fourth Book of Ezra*, 7: 32-43.)

THE RETURN OF THE TRIBES

This is the interpretation of the vision: Whereas thou didst see a Man coming up from the heart of the sea: this is he whom the Most High is keeping many ages, and through whom he will deliver his creation, and the same shall order the survivors. . . . And whereas thou didst see that he summoned and gathered to himself another multitude which was peaceable: these are the Ten Tribes which were led away captive out of their own land in the days of Josiah the king, which

tribes Salmanasar, the king of the Assyrians, led away captive; he carried them across the river and they were transported into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they should leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep their statutes which they had not kept in their own land. And they entered by the narrow passages of the river Euphrates. For the Most High then wrought wonders for them, and stayed the springs of the river until they were passed over. And through that country there was a great way to go, a journey of a year and a half; and that region was called Arzareth. There they have dwelt until the last times; and now, when they are about to come again, the Most High will again stay the springs of the river, that they may be able to pass over. Therefore thou didst see a multitude gathered together in peace. (*Fourth Book of Esdras,* 13: 25-47.)

THE REIGN OF THE MESSIAH

And he shall be a righteous King, taught of God, over them, and there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst, for all shall be holy, and their king the anointed of the Lord. For he shall not put his trust in horse, and rider and bow, nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war, nor shall he gather confidence from a multitude for the day of battle. The Lord himself is his King, the hope of him that is mighty through hope in God. All nations shall be in fear before him, for he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever. He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and gladness, and he himself will be pure from sin so that he may rule a great people. He will rebuke rulers and remove sinners by the might of his word; and relying upon his God, throughout his days he will not stumble, for God will make him mighty by means of his Holy Spirit, and wise by means of the spirit of understanding. (*The Psalms of Solomon* 17: 35-42.)

Chapter IV

JUDÆO-ALEXANDRIAN PHILOSOPHY

Birth of Philosophic Thought

I. *Allegoric Interpretation of the Bible*

a. THE MANNA

For the creation that serveth thee, who art the Maker, increaseth his strength against the unrighteous for his punishment, and abateth his strength for the benefit of such as put their trust in thee. Therefore even then was it altered into all fashions, and was obedient to thy grace, that nourisheth all things according to the desire of them that had need. That thy children, O Lord, whom thou lovest, might know, that it is not the growing of fruits that nourisheth man, that it is thy word, which preserveth them that put their trust in thee. For that which was not destroyed of the fire, being warmed with a little sunbeam, soon melted away; that it might be known that we must prevent the sun to give thee thanks, and at the day-spring pray unto thee. For the hope of the unthankful shall melt away as the winter's hoar-frost and shall run away as unprofitable water. (*The Wisdom of Solomon*, 16: 24-29.)

b. THE PLAGUE OF DARKNESS

For when the unrighteous men thought to oppress the holy nation; they, being shut up in their houses, the prisoners of darkness and fettered with the bonds of a long night, lay there exiled from the eternal providence. . . . As for the illu-

sions of art magic, they were put down, and their vaunting in wisdom was put down with disgrace. For they that promised to drive away terrors and troubles from a sick soul, were sick themselves of fear, worthy to be laughed at. . . . For they were all bound with one chain of darkness. Whether it were a whistling wind, or a melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches, or a pleasing fall of water running violently, or a terrible sound of stones cast down, or a running that could not be seen of skipping beasts, or a roaring voice of most savage wild beasts, or a rebounding echo from the hollow mountains, these things made them to swoon for fear. For the whole world shined with clear light, and none were hindered in their labour; only over them was spread an heavy night, an image of that darkness which should afterward receive them. . . . Nevertheless the saints had a very great light, whose voice the Egyptians hearing, and not seeing their shape, because they also had not suffered the same things, they counted them happy. And because they did not hurt them now, of whom they had been wronged before, they thanked them and besought them pardon for that they had been enemies. Instead of the darkness thou gavest them a burning pillar, both to be a guide on the unknown journey, and an harmless sun to entertain them honourably. For the others were worthy to be deprived of light, and imprisoned in darkness, who had kept thy sons shut up, by whom the uncorrupt light of the law was to be given to the world. (*The Wisdom of Solomon,* 17: 2—18: 4.)

II. *Progressive Identification of the Chochmah (Wisdom) of the Bible, with the Logos (Reason, Word) of Greek Philosophy*

a. WISDOM, INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN GOD AND THE WORLD

Thou hast chosen me to be a King of thy people, and a judge of thy sons and daughters; thou hast commanded me

to build a temple on thy holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein thou dwellest, a resemblance of the holy tabernacle which thou hast prepared from the beginning. And Wisdom was with thee, which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou madest the world, and knew what was acceptable in thy sight, and right in thy commandment. . . . And thy counsel who hath known, except thou give Wisdom, and send thy holy spirit from above? For so the ways of them that lived on the earth were reformed, and men were taught the things which are pleasing unto thee, and were saved through Wisdom. . . . For Wisdom, which is the worker of all things, taught me: for in her is an understanding spirit, holy, one only, manifold, subtle, lively, clear, undefiled, plain, not subject to hurt, loving the thing that is good, quick, which cannot be hindered, ready to do good; kind to man, steadfast, sure, free from care, having all power, overseeing all things and going through all understanding, pure and most subtle spirits. For Wisdom is more moving than any motion, she passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her pureness. For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty; therefore can no defiled thing fall into her. For she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness. And being but one, she can do all things; and remaining in herself, she maketh all things new; and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God and prophets. For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with Wisdom. For she is more beautiful than the sun and above all the order of the stars: being compared with the light, she is found before it. For after this cometh night: but vice shall not prevail against Wisdom. Wisdom reacheth from one end to another mightily: and sweetly doth she order all things. I loved her and sought her out from my youth, I desired to make her my spouse and I was a lover of her beauty. In that she is conversant with God, she magnifieth her nobility; yea, the Lord of all things himself loved

her. For she is privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God, and a lover of his works. (*The Wisdom of Solomon*, 7, 8, 9, *passim*.)

b. THE INTERVENTION OF WISDOM AND THE WORD IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL

Wisdom preserved the first-formed father of the world, that was created alone, and brought him out of his fall, and gave him power to rule all things. But when the unrighteous went away from her in his anger, he perished also in the fury wherewith he murdered his brother. For whose cause, the earth being downed with the flood, Wisdom again preserved it, and directed the course of the righteous [1] in a piece of wood of small value. Moreover the nations in their wicked conspiracy being confounded, she found out the righteous and preserved him blameless unto God, and kept him strong against his tender compassion toward his son.[2] When the ungodly perished she delivered the righteous man, who fled from the fire which fell down upon the five cities. Of whose wickedness even to this day the waste land that smoketh is a testimony, and plants bearing fruit that never come to ripeness: and a standing pillar of salt is a monument to an unbelieving soul.[3] For regarding not wisdom they gat not only this hurt, that they knew not the things which were good; but also left behind them to the world a memorial of their foolishness: so that in the things wherein they offended, they could not so much as be hid. But Wisdom delivered from pain those that attended upon her. When the righteous fled from his brother's wrath,[4] she guided him in right paths, showed him the kingdom of God, and gave him knowledge of holy things, made him rich in his travails and multiplied the fruit of his labours. In the covetousness of such as oppressed him she stood by him and made him rich. . . . When the righteous was sold,[5] she for-

[1] Noah.
[2] Abraham.
[3] Lot's wife.
[4] Jacob.
[5] Joseph.

sook him not, but delivered him from sin: she went down with him into the pit, and left him not in bonds till she brought him the sceptre of the kingdom and power against those that had oppressed him: as for them that had accused him, she showed them to be liars, and gave him permanent glory. She delivered the righteous seed and blameless people. . . .

For while all things were in quiet silence (when the firstborn of Egypt were smitten), and night was in the midst of her swift course, thine Almighty word leaped down from heaven out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war into the midst of a land of destruction. And brought thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, and, standing up, filled all things with death: and it touched the heaven but it stood upon the earth. (*The Wisdom of Solomon,* 10: 1-14; 18: 14-16.)

The Work of Philo

ON THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

For some men, admiring the world itself rather than the Creator of the world, have represented it as existing without any maker, and eternal; and as impiously as falsely have represented God as existing in a state of complete inactivity, while it would have been right on the other hand to marvel at the might of God as the creator and father of all and to admire the world in a degree not exceeding the bounds of moderation. . . . But the great Moses, thinking that a thing which has not been uncreated is as alien as possible from that which is visible before our eyes (for everything which is the subject of our senses exists in birth and in changes, and is not always in the same condition), has attributed eternity to that which is invisible and discerned only by our intellect as a kinsman and a brother, while of that which is the object of our external senses he had predicated generation as an appropriate description. Since then, this world is visible and the object of our

external senses, it follows of necessity that it must have been created; on which account it was not without a wise purpose that he recorded its creation, giving a very venerable account of God.

And he says that the world was made in six days, not because the Creator stood in need of a length of time (for it is natural that God should do everything at once, not merely by uttering a command, but by merely thinking of it), but because the things created required arrangement, and number is akin to arrangement. . . . And he allotted each of the six days to one of the portions of the whole, taking out the first day, which he does not even call the first day, that it may not be numbered with the others, but entitling it one, he names it rightly, perceiving in it and ascribing to it the nature and appellation of the limit. . . . For God, as apprehending beforehand, as a God must do, that there could not exist a good imitation without a good model, and that of the things perceptible to the external senses nothing could be faultless which was not fashioned with reference to some archetypal idea conceived by the intellect when he had determined to create this visible world, previously formed that one which is perceptible only by the intellect, in order that in so using an incorporeal model, formed as far as possible on the image of God, he might then make this corporeal world a younger likeness of the elder creation, which should embrace as many different genera perceptible to the external sense as the other world contains of those which are visible only to the intellect. . . . For if there were any one desirous to investigate the cause on account of which this universe was created, I think that he would come to no erroneous conclusion if he were to say as one of the ancients did say: "That the Father and Creator was good; on which account he did not grudge the substance a share of his own excellent nature, since it had nothing good of itself, but was able to become everything." For the substance was of itself destitute of arrangement, of quality, of animation, of distinctive character and full of all disorder and

confusion; and it received a change and transformation to what is opposite to this condition, and most excellent, being invested with order, quality, animation, resemblance, identity, arrangement, harmony, and everything which belongs to the more excellent idea. . . . Accordingly Moses, when recording the creation of man, asserts expressly that he was made in the image of God, and if the image be a part of the image, then manifestly so is the entire form, namely the whole of this world perceptible by the external senses, which is a greater imitation of the divine image than the human form is. It is manifest also that the archetypal seal, which we call that world which is perceptible only to the intellect, must itself be the archetypal model, the idea of ideas, the Reason of God. . . . Moses says also, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth"; taking the beginning to be, not as some men think, that which is according to time; for before the world time had no existence, but was created either simultaneously with it, or after it; for since time is the interval of the motion of the heavens, there could not have been any such thing as motion before there was anything which could be moved; but it follows of necessity that it receives existence subsequently or simultaneously. It therefore follows also of necessity, that time was created either at the same moment with the world, or later than it—and to venture to assert that it is older than the world is absolutely inconsistent with philosophy. But if the beginning spoken of by Moses is not to be looked upon as spoken of according to time, then it may be natural to suppose that it is the beginning according to number which is indicated; so that, "In the beginning He created," is equivalent to "First of all he created the heaven"; for it is natural in reality that that should have been the first object created, being both the best of all created things, and being also made of the purest substance, because it was destined to be the most holy abode of the visible Gods who are perceptible by the external senses; for if the Creator had made everything at the same moment, still those things

which were created in beauty would no less have had a regular arrangement, for there is no such thing as beauty in disorder. In the first place therefore, from the model of the world, perceptible only to the intellect, the Creator made an incorporeal heaven, and an invisible earth, and the form of air and of empty space; then he created the incorporeal substance of water and of air, and above all he spread light, being the seventh thing made; and this again was incorporeal and a model of the sun, perceptible only to intellect, and of all the light-giving stars, which are destined to stand together in heaven. . . . And the air and the light he considered worthy of pre-eminence. For the one he called the breath of God, because it is air, which is the most life-giving of things, and of life, the causer of God; and the other he called light, because it is surpassingly beautiful. (*On the Creation of the World.*)

ON THE CREATION OF MAN

And he would not err who should raise the question why Moses attributed the creation of man alone not to one creator, as he did that of other animals, but to several. For he introduces the Father of the universe using this language: "Let *us* make man after our image and in our likeness." Had he then, shall I say, need of any one to help him, he to whom all things are subject? Or, when he was making the heaven and the earth and the sea, was he in need of no one to co-operate with him; and yet was he unable himself by his own power to make man, an animal so short-lived and so exposed to the assaults of fate without the assistance of others? It is plain that the real cause of his so acting is known to God alone, but one which to a reasonable conjecture appears probable and credible, I think I should not conceal; and it is this. Of existing things there are some which partake neither of virtue nor of vice; as for instance, plants and irrational animals. . . . Some things partake of virtue alone, being without participa-

tion in any kind of vice; as for instance, the stars. . . . Some things, again, are of a mixed nature, as for instance man, who is capable of opposite qualities, of wisdom and folly, of temperance and dissoluteness, of courage and cowardice, of justice and injustice, in short, of good and evil, of what is honourable and what is disgraceful, of virtue and vice. Now it was a very appropriate task for God the Father of all to create, by himself alone, those things which were wholly good, on account of their kindred with himself. And it was not inconsistent with his dignity to create those which were indifferent, since they too are devoid of evil, which is hateful to him. To create the things of a mixed nature was partly consistent and partly inconsistent with his dignity; consistent by reason of the more excellent idea which is mingled in them; inconsistent because of the opposite and worse one. On this account Moses says that, at the creation of man alone, God said: "Let *us* make man," which expression shows an assumption of other beings to himself as assistants, in order that God, the governor of all things, might have all the blameless intentions and actions of man, when he does right, attributed to him; and that his other assistants might bear the imputation of his contrary actions. (*On the Creation of the World.*)

CREATION CONTINUED

First therefore, having desisted from the creation of mortal creatures on the seventh day, he began the formation of other and divine things. For God never ceases from making something or other; but, as it is the property of fire to burn, and of snow to chill, so also it is the property of God to be creating. And much more so, in proportion as he himself is to all other beings the author of their working. Therefore the expression, "he caused to rest," is very appropriately employed here, not "he rested." For he makes things rest which appear to be producing others, but which in reality do not effect anything; but he himself never ceases from creating. For all the things

that are made by our arts when completed stand still and remain; but those which are accomplished by the knowledge of God are moved at subsequent times. For their ends are the beginnings of other things, as, for instance, the end of day is the beginning of night. And in the same way we must look upon months and years when they come to an end as the beginning of those which are just about to follow them. And so the generation of other things which are destroyed, and the destruction of others which are generated is completed, so that the saying is true that:

> Naught that is created wholly dies;
> But one thing parted and combined with others
> Produces a fresh form.
> (*On the Allegories of the Sacred Laws.*)

GOD WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE WORLD

All places are filled at once by God, who surrounds them all and is not surrounded by any of them, to whom alone it is possible to be everywhere and also nowhere. Nowhere, because he himself created place and space at the same time that he created bodies, and it is impious to say that the Creator is contained in anything that he created. (*Of the Confusion of Languages.*)

Moses indeed appears to have in some degree subscribed to the doctrine of the common union and sympathy existing between the parts of the universe, as he has said that the world was one and created (for as it is a created thing, and also one, it is reasonable to suppose that the same elementary essences are laid as the foundations of all the particular effects which arise, as happens with respect to united bodies that they reciprocally contain each other); but he differs from them widely in their opinion of God, not intimating that either the world itself, or the soul of the world, is the original God, nor that the stars or their motions are the primary causes of

the events which happen among men; but he teaches that this universe is held together by invisible powers which the Creator has spread from the extreme borders of the earth to heaven, making a beautiful provision to prevent that which he has joined together from being dissolved; for the indissoluble chains which bind the universe are his powers. (*On the Migration of Abraham.*)

GOD THE UNKNOWABLE

That interpreter of the divine word, Moses, the man most beloved by God, besought God and said: Show me Thyself—all but urging him, and crying out in loud and distinct words—that Thou hast a real being and existence. The whole world is my teacher, assuring me of the fact and instructing me as a son might of the existence of his father, or the work of the existence of the workman. But though I am very desirous to know what Thou art as to Thy essence, I can find no one who is able to explain to me anything relating to this branch of learning in any part of the universe whatever. On which account I beg and entreat of Thee to receive the supplication of a man who is Thy suppliant and devoted to God's service, and desirous to serve Thee alone; for as the light is not known by the agency of anything else, but is itself its own manifestation, so also Thou must alone be able to manifest Thyself. For which reason I hope to receive pardon if, from the want of any one to teach me, I am so bold as to flee to Thee, desiring to receive instruction from Thyself. But God replied: I receive, indeed, your eagerness, inasmuch as it is praiseworthy; but it is not fitting to grant to any created being the request which thou makest. And I only bestow such gifts as are appropriate to him who receives them; for it is not possible for a man to receive all that it is easy for me to give. On which account I give to him who is deserving of my favour all the gifts which he is able to receive. But not only the nature of mankind, but even the whole heaven

and the whole world is unable to attain to an adequate comprehension of me. . . . When Moses heard this he betook himself to a second supplication, and said: I am persuaded by Thy explanations that I should not have been able to receive the visible appearance of Thy form. But I beseech Thee that I may, at all events, behold the glory that is around Thee. And I look upon Thy glory as the powers which attend Thee as Thy guards, the comprehension of which having escaped me up to the present time, worketh in me no slight desire of a thorough understanding of it. But God replied and said: The powers which you seek to behold are altogether invisible and only appreciable by the intellect. And what I call appreciable only by the intellect are not those which are already comprehended by the mind, but those which, even if they could be so comprehended, are still such that the outward senses could not at all attain to them, but only the very purest intellect. And although they are by nature incomprehensible in their essence, they still show a kind of impression or copy of their energy and operation; as seals among you, when any wax or similar kind of material is applied to them, make an innumerable quantity of figures and impressions, without being impaired as to any portion of themselves, but still remaining unaltered and as they were before; so also you must conceive that the powers which are around me invest those things which have no distinctive qualities with such qualities, and those which have no forms with precise forms, and that without having any portion of their everlasting nature dismembered or weakened. And certain of your race, speaking with sufficient correctness, call them ideas, since they give a peculiar character to every existing thing, arranging what had previously no order, and limiting and defining and fashioning what was before destitute of all limitations and definition and fashion. And in short, in all respects changing what was bad into better condition. Do not, then, ever expect to be able to comprehend me nor any one of my powers in respect of our essence. But, as I have said, I willingly and

cheerfully grant unto you such things as you may receive. And this gift is to call you to the beholding of the world, and all the things that are in it, which must be comprehended, not indeed by the eyes of the body, but by the sleepless vision of the soul. (*On Monarchy.*)

THE POWERS OF GOD

The appellations mentioned (Lord, God, Eternal—*Adonai, Elohim, Jehovah*) reveal the powers existing in the living God, for one title is that of Lord, according to which he governs, and the other is God, according to which he is beneficent. For which reason also, in the account of the creation of the world, according to the most holy Moses, the name God is always assumed by him; for it was fitting that the power according to which the Creator, when he was bringing his creatures into the world, arranged and adorned them, should be invoked also by that creation. Inasmuch, therefore, as he is a ruler, he has both powers, that, namely, of doing good, and that of doing harm; regulating his conduct on the principle of requiting him who has done anything. But inasmuch as he is a benefactor, he is inclined only to one of these two courses, namely, to do good. And it would be the greatest possible advantage to the soul no longer to feel any doubt about the power of the king for both purposes, but steadily to emancipate itself from the fear, which is suspended over it, on account of the vastness of his authority, and to kindle and keep alive a most firm hope of the acquisition and enjoyment of blessings arising from his being beneficent by deliberate intention. Now the expression "everlasting God" is eternal to God who bestows gifts, not sometimes giving and sometimes not, but always and incessantly; it is equivalent to God who does good uninterruptedly; to God who, without intermission, is connecting a flow of benefits, coming out one after the other; God, who pours forth blessings upon blessings, who is made up of mercies connected and united; God,

who never omits any single opportunity of doing Good; God, who is also the Lord, so that he is able to injure. This also Jacob, who practised virtue, asked at the end of his most holy prayers. For he said, And the Lord shall be to me as God. Which is equivalent to: He will no longer display toward me the despotic power of his absolute authority, but rather the beneficent influence of his universally propitious and saving power, utterly removing the fear with which he is regarded as master, and filling the soul with affection and benevolence as felt toward a benefactor. What soul could ever conceive thus that the master and ruler of the universe, without changing anything that he always was, but remaining in the condition in which he always was, is continually king and uninterruptedly bounteous—owing to which he is, to those who are happy, the most perfect cause of unlimited and overflowing blessings? And to trust in a king who is not so elated by reason of the magnitude of his authority as to do injury to his subjects, but who, through his love for mankind, prefers that every one should enjoy happiness without fear, is the greatest possible bulwark of prosperity and security. (*About the Planting of Noah.*)

THE MEDIATORS

For if God were to choose to judge the race of mankind without mercy, he would pass on them a sentence of condemnation; since there has never been a single man who, by his own unassisted power, has run the whole course of his life, from the beginning to the end, without stumbling; but since some men have fallen into voluntary and some into involuntary sins, that therefore the human race might still subsist, even though many of the subordinate members of it go to destruction, God mingles mercy with his justice, which he exercises toward the good actions of even the unworthy; and he not only pities them while judging, but judges them while pitying them, for mercy is older than justice in his sight,

inasmuch as he knew the man who deserved punishment, not after he had served sentence on him, but also before sentence. (*On the Unchangeableness of God.*)

The men of superior soul are called demons by the other philosophers; the Holy Writ calls them, with more justice, angels, for they transmit to the children the commands of the Father, and to the Father the prayers of the children. It is for this reason that in Holy Writ they are shown ascending and descending. It is certain that God has no need to be informed, for he is everywhere before any one else, but it is well for us mortals that he should make use of intermediary powers (emanations, *Logos,* the Word) because of the terror which the presence of the supreme and sovereign power would inspire. (*That Dreams Are from God.*)

The Father, Creator of all, has reserved this for the Word (*Logos*), that it shall be the intermediary between the Creator and the created, and observe the barrier between them. And this same Word is continually a suppliant to the immortal God on behalf of the mortal race, which is exposed to affliction and misery; and is also the ambassador, sent by the ruler of all, to the subject race. And the Word rejoices in the gift, and, exulting in it, announces it and boasts of it, saying, "And I stood in the midst, between the Lord and you" (Numbers, 16: 48), neither being uncreate, as God, nor yet created, as you, but being in the midst between these two extremities, like a hostage, as it were, to both parties. (*On Who Is the Heir of Divine Things.*)

OF ECSTASY

If any desire comes upon thee, O my soul, to be the inheritor of the good things of God, leave not only thy country, thy body, and thy kindred, the outward senses and thy father's house, that is speech; but also flee from thyself and depart from out of thyself, like the Corybantes, or those possessed with demons, being driven to frenzy, and inspired by some

prophetic inspiration. For while the mind is in a state of enthusiastic inspiration, and while it is no longer mistress of itself, but is agitated and drawn into frenzy by heavenly love, and drawn upward to that object, truth removing all impediments out of its way, and making everything before it plain, that so it may advance by a level road, its destiny is to become an inheritor of the things of God. (*On Who Is the Heir of Divine Things.*)

THE TALMUDIC EPOCH

The Talmudic Epoch

After the Christian schism and the final ruin of the Jewish State, the Sages undertake the task of perpetuating Judaism by "making a hedge round the Torah." In the Schools of Palestine (under the Roman domination) and in those of Babylon (first under the domination of the Parthians, later under the domination of the Arabs) the oral tradition grows and assumes form in the huge collections of the Mishna, the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud which impose their legal authority gradually on the Jews of the Diaspora. However, during the eighth century, there is a revolt against the Talmud; the Karaites, who make the Bible alone, to the exclusion of the Talmud, the sole source of their life and faith, again threaten the unity of the Jewish world.

CHRONOLOGY

A.D.

69-70. Siege of Jerusalem by the Romans. Jochanaan ben Zachai founds the School or Academy at Jabneh. Destruction of the second Temple. New dispersion of the Jews into Arabia, Georgia, Crimea, Italy, Spain, Gaul, the Rhine country, etc.

81-96. Reign of Domitian. Progress of Jewish proselytizing Flavius Clemens, nephew of the Emperor, converted to Judaism.

133-136. Revolt and defeat of Bar-Kochba in Palestine. Martyrdom of Rabbi Akiba. Jerusalem becomes a pagan city under the name of Ælia Capitolina.

211-217. Reign of Caracalla. All the Jews of the Roman Empire are given access to the Roman magistrature.

220. Juda the Saint, President of the School of Sepphoris, finishes the editing of the Mishna. Rise of the Amoraim (Teachers). In Babylon, under the domination of the Parthians, the Jews are ruled by an Exilarch. Abba Areka founds the school of Sura and R. Samuel presides over that of Pumbedhita.

323-337. Constantine first Christian Emperor. The Council of Nice sets for the Christian Easter a date different from that of the Jewish Passover.

350. The editing of the Jerusalem Talmud completed.
395. Death of Theodosius. The Roman Empire divided into two parts, the Western Empire and the Eastern, within which Palestine is included.
418. The Jews of the Western Empire are excluded from all public functions and dignities.
411-484. Spain conquered by the Visigoths of the Arian sect, who give the Jews complete religious liberty.
471. Persecution of the Jews of Babylon, under the Parthian King Firuz. Martyrdom of the Exilarch Mar Huna.
500. R. Aschi and Rabina finish the editing of the Babylonian Talmud. The Saboraim succeed the Amoraim.
511. Mar Sutra II, Exilarch, organizes a practically independent Jewish State under the suzerainty of the Parthian King Kobad.
537. Edicts of Justinian, Emperor of the East, depriving the Jews of civil authority and religious freedom.
586. Ricared, Visigoth King of Spain, abjures Arianism and becomes a Catholic.
612. His successor Sisebut compels the Jews to choose between baptism and exile.
622. Mahomet tries to win the Jews of Medina over to the religion which he has founded.
624. Having failed, he makes war on the Jewish tribes of Arabia.
629. Dagobert, King of the Francs, compels the Jews to choose between baptism and exile.
637. Omar takes Jerusalem. The Jews of Palestine pass under the dominion of the Arabs.
641. Bulan, King of the Khazars (southern Russia) embraces Judaism, together with his subjects.
651. Defeat of Yezgered III, last Parthian emperor. The Jews of Babylonia pass under the dominion of the Arabs.
658. Mar Isaac, President of the Academy of Sura, takes the title of Gaon.
694. All the Jews of Spain and of Provence are declared slaves.
711. The Arabs conquer Spain and grant the Jews complete religious liberty.
721. Appearance of the Jewish false Messiah, Serenus, in Syria.
761. Anan ben David, in Babylonia, shakes the legal authority of the Talmud by the founding of the Karait sect.

Chapter I

THE LIFE OF THE SCHOOLS

THE FOUNDING OF THE SCHOOL OF JABNE

WHEN Vespasian drew near to destroy Jerusalem, he said to the inhabitants: Why will you have your city destroyed and your Holy House burned? I ask you but to send me a bow and an arrow, and I will begone. They replied: As we went forth against the two that came before you, and defeated them, so shall we go forth against you and defeat you. When Rabbi Jochanaan ben Zaccai heard of this he sent out messengers and assembled the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and said to them: Why will you have this city destroyed and the Holy House burned? All that he asks is that you send him a bow and an arrow, and he will begone. But they replied: As we went forth against the two who came before him, and defeated them, so we shall go forth against him, and defeat him. Now Vespasian had a number of men who were hidden close by the wall of Jerusalem, and every word they heard they wrote upon arrows which they shot over the wall; they also wrote that Jochanaan ben Zaccai was among the friends of Vespasian. When Rabbi Jochanaan ben Zaccai had spoken thus once and twice and three times, and they did not listen to him, he sent out messengers and called his pupils together. He said to them: My children, rise and lead me from here. Make me a coffin that I may sleep in it. Then Rabbi Eliezer took him by the head and Rabbi Joshua by the feet, and they carried him thus until sunset when they came to the gates of Jerusalem. The guards asked them: What is that? And they answered: A dead man. Do you not know that it is forbidden

that a dead body should lie one night in Jerusalem? They replied: If it be a dead man, carry him out.

They carried him forth, and by the next sunset they came to Vespasian. The latter asked: Are you Jochanaan ben Zaccai? Ask me for anything you want. Rabbi Jochanaan replied: I only ask for Jabne; I want to go there in order to teach my pupils, say prayers and observe all the precepts of the Torah. And Vespasian replied: You may do all that you desire. (*Aboth of Rabbi Nathan,* Ch. IV.)

THE SCHOOL OF JABNE

When Rabbi Jochanaan ben Zaccai and the other masters had found rest at Jabne, they laid down ten commandments which are to be found in the Mishna, preceded by the words: "After the destruction of the Temple Rabbi Jochanaan ben Zaccai prescribed . . ." Rabbi Gamaliel [end of 1st and beginning of 2nd century] succeeded Rabbi Jochanaan ben Zaccai. He was the head of the School of Jabne, while Rabbi Joshua presided over the Sanhedrin. Rabbi Gamaliel, having for the third time humiliated Rabbi Joshua, was deposed and in his place was appointed the wise and wealthy Rabbi Eleazar ben Azarya. Later on, Gamaliel made peace with Rabbi Joshua and was reappointed head of the school; Rabbi Eleazar nevertheless retained his functions; they taught in turn, Rabbi Gamaliel two Sabbaths and Rabbi Eleazar one Sabbath. Later the headship of the school was taken by Simeon, son of Gamaliel, who was succeeded by his son, Juda the Saint (surnamed Rabbi), who was at Sepphoris and at Beth-Shearim. (*Letter of Sherira,* Ed. Neubauer, I, p. 27.)

THE EDITING OF THE MISHNA BY JUDA THE SAINT (RABBI)

The Mishna, which is also called the oral law, is the essential part of tradition, in the order in which it was received by our Master, Moses (Peace be to him), and as it was handed

down until the time of Juda the Saint. The latter put it into writing, that it might last long and be read and never forgotten or lost. (Rabbi Samuel ibn Nagdila, *Mabo ha-Talmud.*)

Although in general all the Rabbis were equally authoritative in matters relating to the interpretation and exposition of the Laws, Rabbi Juda used as the basis of his work the ingenious formulas of Rabbi Akibah and his school; thereto he added what he held in esteem of his own period, and edited the whole properly, developing characteristic decisions, setting off, in disputed cases, opinion against opinion as he had received them from the masters, and even finding room for individual opinions which have not the force of law. "Why," he asked, "have these individual opinions been preserved side by side with the opinions of the majority, thus taking away the authority of the latter? This was done so that, if an interpreter of the law should appear, and should say: 'I have received this and this tradition, which is at variance with the generally accepted tradition,' it might be possible to demonstrate to him that it was an individual opinion. When everybody had recognized the beauty, the faithfulness and the accuracy with which our Mishna had been edited, all other sources of information were abandoned, and this collection spread throughout all Israel." (*Letter of Sherira*, I, pp. 11-12.)

THE SCHOOLS OF BABYLON

When the Israelites were exiled to Babylon (598 B.C.E.) with King Jechonia, there were among them carpenters and locksmiths, and also many prophets; they were led to Nehardea, where Jechonia and his companions built a synagogue, with stones and dust which they had brought from the site of the old Temple, in order that they might fulfil the words of the Scripture: "Thy servants love thy stones and cherish thy dust." They called this synagogue by a name which means: "The Sanctuary hath left its place to come here."

. . . And the spirit of God was with them. . . . When Ezra and Zerubabel returned to the land of Israel and rebuilt the Temple there [6th-5th Century B.C.E.], and while the heads of the Sanhedrin, as for instance Simon the Just, Antigonos of Socco and all the other teachers, mostly from Babylon, taught the Torah at Jerusalem—they continued nevertheless to spread the knowledge of the Torah throughout the country of Babylon, where the Israelites were ruled by the Princes of the Exile, descendants of the House of David. (*Letter of Sherira,* I, 26-27.)

THE INSTALLATION OF AN EXILARCH

On Thursday morning they assembled in the synagogue, blessed the exilarch, and placed their hands on him. They blew the horn that all the people, small and great, might hear. When the people heard the proclamation, every member of the community sent him a present, according to his power and his means. All the heads of the community and the wealthy members sent him magnificent clothes and beautiful ornaments, vessels of silver and vessels of gold, each man according to his ability. The exilarch prepared a banquet on Thursday and on Friday, giving all kinds of food, and all kinds of drinks, as, for instance, different kinds of sweetmeats. When he arose on Sabbath morning to go to the synagogue, many of the prominent men of the community met him to go with him to the synagogue. At the synagogue a wooden pulpit had been prepared for him on the previous day, the length of which was seven cubits, and the breadth of which was seven cubits. They spread over it magnificent coverings of silk, blue, purple and scarlet, so that it was entirely covered and nothing was seen of it. Under the pulpit there entered distinguished youths, with melodious and harmonious voices, who were well versed in the prayers and all that appertains thereto. The exilarch was concealed in a certain place together with the heads of the academies. . . . The precentor of the

synagogue would begin the prayer *Blessed be He who spoke,* and the youths, after every sentence of that prayer, would respond "Blessed be He . . ." When all the people were seated, the exilarch came out from the place where he was concealed. Seeing him come out, all the people stood up, until he sat down on the pulpit which had been made for him. Then the head of the academy of Sura came out after him, and, after exchanging courtesies with the exilarch, sat down on the pulpit. Then the head of the academy of Pumbedhita came out, and he, too, made a bow, and sat down at his left. . . . Then the exilarch would begin to expound matters appertaining to the biblical portion of that day, or would give permission to the head of the academy of Sura to deliver the exposition, and the head of the academy of Sura would give permission to the head of the academy of Pumbedhita. They would thus show deference to one another, until the head of the academy of Sura began to expound. The interpreter stood near him, and repeated his words to the people. He expounded with awe, closing his eyes and wrapping himself up with his tallith, so that his forehead was covered. While he was expounding, there was not one in the congregation who opened his mouth, or chirped, or uttered a sound. . . . Then the precentor stood up and recited the Kaddish. When he reached the words, *During your life and in your days,* he would say: "During the life of our Prince the exilarch, and during your life, and during the life of all the house of Israel." When he had finished the Kaddish he would bless the exilarch, and then the heads of the academies. Having finished the blessing, he would stand up and say: "Such and such a sum was contributed by such and such a city and its villages"; and he mentioned all the cities which had sent contributions for the academy and blessed them. Afterwards he blessed the men who had busied themselves in order that the contributions should reach the academies. Then he would take out the Book of the Law, and call up a priest, and a Levite after him. While all the people were

standing, the precentor of the synagogue would bring down the Book of the Law to the exilarch, who took it in his hands, stood up and read in it. The heads of the academies stood up with him, and the head of the academy of Sura translated it to him. Then he would give back the Book of the Law to the precentor, who returned it to the ark. . . . (Nathan Ha-Bavli, Halper's translation.)

THE TALMUD

The Talmud (or tradition) consists of two parts: the Mishna (oral law edited by Juda the Saint, in six Books) and the Commentary on the Mishna (Gemara). The Commentary, in turn, is divided into two parts: the established tradition, and the tradition which is not yet established. The established tradition is that tradition which we have received from Moses, and Moses from God, whether it has been handed down to us as the interpretation of a single master or of several masters. Similarly, the tradition which is not yet established may come down to us as the interpretation of one or of several masters. . . . This second part of the Commentary on the Mishna is again divided under twenty-one headings, among which are: Tosephta (the additions), Beraitha (collections subsequent to the Mishna), Maaseh (facts, examples taken from life), Halachah (judicial discussions and decisions) and Haggadah (all that which, being without legal content, is left to individual appreciation). (Samuel ibn Nagdila, *Mabo ha-Talmud.*)

PRAYER FOR THE BABYLONIAN TEACHERS OF THE TORAH (YAKUM PURKON)

O may redemption come down from heaven, bringing grace and kindness and mercy, and earthly gifts of health and affluence and long life; living and strong children, and a posterity that shall not cease nor falter in the study of the law

—to our teachers and rabbis of the holy fellowship which are in the land of Israel and in the land of Babylon, to the principals of the academies and to the Princes of the exile, to the heads of the colleges and the judges that are in the gates, to all their pupils and the pupils of their pupils and to all who are given to the study of the Torah. May the Lord of the Universe bless them, preserve them, and increase their years. May he deliver them from all woe and from all evil hap; may the Lord of Heaven be their stay and comfort at all times and in all seasons. Amen. (*The Prayer-Book.*)

Chapter II

THE SAGES

JOCHANAAN BEN ZACCAI (1ST CENTURY C.E.)

Jochanaan and His Disciples

RABBI JOCHANAAN said to his pupils: "Go forth and see which is the good way to which a man should cleave." R. Eliezer said: "A good eye"; R. Joshua said: "A good friend"; R. Jose said: "A good neighbour"; R. Simon said: "One who foresees what is yet to be"; R. Eleazar said: "A good heart." Thereupon R. Jochanaan said: "I approve the words of Eleazar the son of Arak rather than your words, for in his words yours are included."

He said to them: "Go forth and see which is the evil way which a man should shun." R. Eliezer said: "An evil eye"; R. Joshua said: "A bad friend"; R. Jose said: "A bad neighbour"; R. Simon said: "One who borrows and repays not—it is the same whether he borrows from man or from God: as it is said: 'The wicked borroweth, and payeth not; but the righteous dealeth graciously and giveth.'" R. Eleazar said: "A bad heart." Thereupon he said to them: "I approve the words of R. Eleazar the son of Arak rather than your words, for in his words yours are included."

Rabbi Eleazar also said: "See how the ways of God differ from the ways of man. The man of high rank hardly ever sees any one who is not of equal rank with himself, and he is disdainful to those who occupy an inferior position. But it is not thus with God. Is there a being more exalted than He? And yet He looks with loving-kindness on the very lowliest."

He also said: "Prayer is of greater value than the sacrifices. To bring others to do good is more meritorious than to do good one's self.

"The pot which you have used to cook for others will be used to cook for you. If all sins are punished by intermediaries, God reserves to himself the punishment of oppression.

"Charity is of greater value than all the sacrifices. Charity is rewarded only according to the degree of goodness which goes with it. He that gives charity in secret has more power with God than Moses himself. If there existed only one just man, he will have justified the creation of the world."

The Death of Jochanaan ben Zaccai

When Rabbi Jochanaan ben Zaccai was sick his pupils came to visit him. Seeking them, he began to weep. And they asked him: "Light of Israel, strong pillar, mighty hammer, why do you weep?" He answered: "I would weep if I were being brought before a king of flesh and blood, a king whom I could appease with words and corrupt with gold, a king who is of this world to-day and who, the next day, is in the tomb, a king whose anger, if it be kindled against me, is not an eternal anger, a king whose chains, if they bind me, are not eternal chains, a king who, if he put me to death, cannot make it eternal death. Behold, I am being led before the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, Who cannot be appeased with words nor corrupted with gold, Who lives and exists for all eternity, Whose anger, if it be kindled against me, is an eternal anger, Whose chains, if they bind me, are eternal chains: and I see before me two roads, and one leads to the Garden of Eden, and the other to Gehenna; and I know not which road I shall be made to tread. Shall I not weep?" Then his disciples said: "Bless us." And he replied: "May it please the Lord that you fear God as you fear men." And his pupils asked him: "Shall we not fear Him more?" And he replied: "May it please God that you fear Him as

much. When a man commits a wrong, does he not say: If only no man has seen me?" (*Berachoth.*)

RABBI CHANINA BEN DOSSA (1ST CENTURY)

The Poverty of Rabbi Chanina

Rab said: "Every day there is heard a voice from heaven, saying: 'The whole world is nourished only for the sake of Chanina, my son, and my son Chanina is content with a pot of locust-beans from the eve of one Sabbath to the eve of the next Sabbath.' "

Before the coming of every Sabbath the wife of Rabbi Chanina would heat her oven, and throw into it such things as would produce smoke, to make believe that she was preparing a meal and thus hide the shame of her poverty. She had a wicked neighbour, who said to herself: "I know she has nothing there. I will go and see." She came and knocked at the door. The wife of Rabbi Chanina was ashamed, and went to hide herself in her room. But behold a miracle: the neighbour found the oven filled with bread and the kneading-trough filled with dough. She cried out: "Neighbour, neighbour, your bread is going to burn." And the wife of Chanina replied: "I was just coming from my room for that reason." We even learn that she was really going to take out the bread, for she was accustomed to miracles.

One day she said to her husband: "How long shall we live in such poverty?" "What shall I do?" he asked. "Pray to God that he should give us on this earth a little of the happiness which is reserved for the just in the world to come." He prayed, and there suddenly appeared a hand and gave him the gold leg of a table. Then he dreamed, and in his dream he saw all the just eating at tables with three legs, while his own table had only two legs. And he said to his wife: "Would you have all the just eating at tables with three legs, and we alone eating at a table with only two legs?" She

said: "What shall we do? Pray to God to take back the gift." And he prayed, and the gold leg was taken back. And it is said that the second miracle was greater than the first, for we know that heaven gives, but never takes back its gifts. (*Taanith.*)

The Words of Rabbi Chanina

Rabbi Chanina said: "I have learned much from my teachers, I have learned still more from my fellow-students, but they from whom I profited most were my pupils. The disciples of the wise bring the reign of peace on earth."

He also said: "There is more merit in the observance of duties which are prescribed for us than in the accomplishment of deeds which have not been imposed.

"If your passions threaten to overcome you, repulse them by study. If your good works outweigh your knowledge, you will see your knowledge flourish; but if your knowledge outweigh your good works, your knowledge will fail. If you place the fear of sin above wisdom, your wisdom will endure; but if you place wisdom above the fear of sin, your wisdom will not endure."

He said, too: "Disdain not the benediction of any man. He that is loved of men is also loved of God, and he that is not loved of men is no more loved of God than of men."

And he said, finally: "Not one man in the whole world hurts his finger unless it has been so decreed from on high. Evil cannot come from on high. Everything is dependent on God, save the fear of God." (*Berachoth.*)

NAHUM GIMSO (1ST CENTURY)

Why was this man called Nahum Gimso? Because he was wont to say, whatever happened to him: "This too (*gam zeh*) is for the best."

It is related of Nahum Gimso that he was blind in both eyes, that both his hands were crippled, that his feet were

both cut off and that the whole of his body was covered with leprosy. He lay stretched out in a tottering house, and his legs were thrust into pots of water, so that the ants might not be able to get to him. One day his pupils wanted to move his bed and then the rest of the things to another house. Then he said: "My children, take the other things first and my bed last, for as long as I am here in the house you may be certain that it will not fall." They did as he told them, and no sooner had they carried the bed out than the house tumbled down. Then his pupils said: "If you are so just a man, why do all these evil things overtake you?" "My children," he answered, "I have brought them all on myself: for one day, as I was going to the house of my father-in-law, leading with me three donkeys, one laden with provisions, one with wine and one with rare fruits, I chanced on a poor man who stopped me and said: 'Master, give me something to eat.' 'Wait,' I said, 'until I have unladen my donkey.' But I had not ended unlading the beast before the man gave up the ghost. Then I went and threw myself upon him, saying: 'May my eyes, which had no pity on your eyes, lose their sight: may my hands, which had no pity on your hands, be crippled: may my feet, which had no pity on your feet, be cut off.' And my spirit was not at rest until I had said: 'May my whole body be covered with leprosy.'" His pupils replied: "Woe to us, that we see you in this condition." But he said: "Woe to me if you were not to see me." (*Taanith.*)

RABBI GAMALIEL (END OF THE IST AND BEGINNING OF THE 2ND CENTURY)

The Emperor said to Rabbi Gamaliel: "Your God is a thief, for it is written: 'The Eternal made a sleep to fall on Adam (and while Adam slept took out a rib).'" The daughter of Gamaliel then said to the Emperor: "Give me a judge." "What for?" asked the Emperor. "There was a thief in my

house this night, he took away a silver pitcher and left me a gold pitcher." The Emperor replied: "I wish this thief would come to me every day." And the daughter of Gamaliel replied: "Was it not a good thing for Adam too, who lost a rib and was given a woman instead?" (*Sanhedrin.*)

The Emperor said to Gamaliel: "You say that wheresoever ten men are assembled (for prayer) God comes to them. How many Gods are there, then?" Gamaliel called his servant, and struck him lightly on the neck. The Emperor asked: "Why did you strike him?" "Because he let the sun shine into the house," answered Gamaliel. "But the sun is everywhere," said the Emperor. And Rabbi Gamaliel replied: "The sun is but one among the thousands of thousands and thousands of myriads which are before the Holy One, blessed be He: yet the sun is everywhere in the world. Much more so, then, is the Holy One Himself." (*Sanhedrin.*)

One day a philosopher said to Rabbi Gamaliel: "It is written in your sacred book: The Lord thy God is a devouring fire, a jealous God. Why is it, then, that He proceeds against the idolators and not against the idols themselves?" To which Gamaliel replied: "If the Pagans adored such things as the world did not need, God would surely destroy them; but see, they worship the sun, the moon, the stars, the planets, the springs and the valleys; shall He, because of these madmen, destroy all of his beautiful universe?" (*Avodah Zarah.*)

RABBI JOSHUA BEN CHANANYA (END OF THE 1ST AND BEGINNING OF THE 2ND CENTURY)

The Rabbi and the Emperor

One day Hadrian (may his bones be broken!) asked Rabbi Joshua, son of Chananya: "Am I not a mightier than your master, Moses?" "Why?" "Because he is dead and I am alive. Is it not written: a living dog is better than a dead lion?" "Can you," asked the Rabbi, "issue a command that no one shall light a fire during three days?" "Surely," an-

swered the Emperor. That evening they both went up on the terrace of the palace, and Joshua saw smoke ascending in the distance. "What is that?" he asked. "The man who lives there," said the Emperor, "is sick, and the doctor who is tending him says that if he does not drink hot water it is impossible to cure him." "May he give up the ghost," said Joshua. "See, you are still living, and your commands are not observed, and Moses, our master, has commanded us: On the Sabbath day you shall light no fire in any of your houses, and ever since that time the Jews will not kindle any light on the Sabbath day, and the command has never been withdrawn. Will you still say, 'I am mightier than your master, Moses'?" (*Ruth Abba.*)

The Emperor said to Rabbi Joshua, son of Chananya: "I want to see your God." The Rabbi replied: "That is impossible." The Emperor said: "You must show Him to me." The Rabbi made the Emperor go outside with him; it was summer, in the month of Tammuz; and he said to the Emperor: "Look at the sun." "I cannot," answered the Emperor. Then the Rabbi replied: "If you cannot even look at the sun, which is but one of the servants of the Holy One, blessed be He, how shall you look at the Holy One Himself?" (*Chulin.*)

RABBI JOSHUA THE THAUMATURGIST

One day Rabbi Eliezer, Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Gamaliel arrived in a certain town and were hospitably received in a house. While at table they noticed that every dish, before it was offered them, was carried into a small room adjoining. They feared that this was a custom such as one saw only in the homes of idolators, so they asked their host for an explanation. He replied: "In that little room there is my old father, who has vowed never to go forth from it until he has seen the sages of Israel." "Then go and tell your father," they answered, "to come out, for the sages of Israel are here." The old man came out, and they asked him: "What do you

desire?" "Pray for my son," he answered. "He has no children." Then said Rabbi Eliezer to Rabbi Joshua: "Joshua, see what you can do." "Let them bring me some flax-seeds," said Rabbi Joshua. They were brought, and Rabbi Joshua took them and spread them on the table; then it appeared as though they were sown, then as though they blossomed, then as though they again became seeds. Then a woman appeared, with long hair on her head. Joshua said to her: "Untie what thou hast knotted." She replied: "I cannot untie sorcery, the magic knot has fallen into the sea." At once Joshua commanded the lord of the sea to disgorge the charm. Then they prayed. And before long the host was made happy by the birth of a son, whom he named Judah, son of Bethera. (*Sanhedrin,* Tal. Jer.)

A MIRACLE IS NO PROOF

On that day Rabbi Eliezer brought up all possible objections, but they would not heed him. Finally he said: "If the rule is as I teach it, let this carob-tree give a sign." And the carob-tree moved back two hundred cubits. But the sages said: "A carob-tree proves nothing." So he said: "If the rule is as I teach it, let the water in this channel give a sign." And the water in the channel flowed upward instead of downward. But the sages said to him: "The waters of a channel prove nothing." Then he said: "If the law is as I teach it, let the walls of the school decide." And the walls of the school leaned over as to fall. And Rabbi Joshua cursed the walls, saying: "When the pupils of the sages dispute a point of law what business is that of yours?" And out of respect for Rabbi Joshua the walls did not tumble: but out of respect for Rabbi Eliezer they did not stand up straight again: and they are still there, leaning over. Then a divine echo was heard: "What ails you? Why do you importune Rabbi Eliezer? The rule has always been what he teaches it to be." But Rabbi Joshua, rising to his feet, exclaimed: "It is not

in heaven!" (Deut. XXX, 12). What did he mean by these words? He meant that the Torah is no longer in heaven; it was given to us from Mount Sinai, once for all time, and we need no longer pay heed to a divine voice, for in the Torah, given at Sinai, it is written: "The opinion of the majority shall prevail." The prophet Elijah appeared to Rabbi Nathan, who asked him: "What was God doing at that moment [when Rabbi Joshua denied the value of miracles]?" And the prophet replied: "God was laughing and saying: 'My children have conquered Me, My children have conquered Me.'" (*Baba Mezia.*)

AKYLAS THE PROSELYTE (END OF THE 1ST AND BEGINNING OF THE 2ND CENTURY)

Akylas said to Hadrian the King: "I want to be converted and become an Israelite." Hadrian replied: "What? You want to belong to this people? You want to mingle with the lowest of the people? What have you seen in them, that you should wish to be converted?" "The littlest among them," replied Akylas, "knows how the Holy One, blessed be He, created the world, and what was created on the first day, and what keeps the world up: and their Torah is truth." "Learn their Torah," replied Hadrian, "but do not be circumcised." And Akylas replied: "The wisest man in your kingdom, though he were a hundred years of age, cannot learn their Torah save he be circumcised. For it is written: He has revealed His words to Jacob and His laws of justice to Israel: He has not done this for any of the other peoples, and His laws remain unknown to them." (*Shemoth Rabba.*)

Akylas the Proselyte asked our masters: "It is written: I will love the convert: I will give him bread and raiment. Are those all the promises that have been made to the convert by the Holy One, blessed be He?" He was answered: "For you, who have come to us, it is not enough to be treated as we are treated; you should be treated as Jacob was treated, Jacob, the eldest son of the Holy One, blessed be He. And

think not that Jacob asked nothing of God but bread and raiment. [See Genesis 28: 30.] But he said: "The Holy One, blessed be He, has promised to be with me, and to bring forth from me sons who will be holy priests, and who will eat the sacred bread, and who will be clad in sacred raiment. For it is said: He gives me bread to eat—meaning the sacred bread,—and raiment to clothe me—meaning the raiment of holiness. In like fashion, he will bring forth, from the convert, sons who will eat the holy bread and clothe themselves in sacred raiment." (*Shemoth Rabba.*)

RABBI AKIBA (50-132)

The Marriage of Akiba

Akiba was the friend of the son of Kalba Shebua, to whose house hungry men went and came out like well-fed beasts. The daughter of Kalba Shebua having seen him, and having guessed his virtues, said to him: "I will become your wife, if you will study." He replied: "So be it." She married him in secret and sent him away. The father learned of it, thrust her forth from his house and denied her the use of any part of his wealth.

Akiba was away for twelve years, and then returned, followed by twelve thousand pupils. His wife had been asked: "How long will you remain a widow?" and she had replied: "If he had asked me I would have advised him to study another twelve years." And Akiba turned back to study another twelve years. When he arrived before the town, his wife came out to meet him. She fell upon her face and kissed his feet. His pupils wanted to repulse her, but Rabbi Akiba said: "Let her be, for whatever is mine and yours is hers." (*Kethuboth.*)

The Words of Akiba

Rabbi Akiba said: "He is wealthy who possesses a virtuous wife. The divine glory rests on the pious household, while a secret fire consumes the impious household."

He also said: "The bulwark of wisdom is silence. Before the bar of justice the poorest in Israel must be regarded as persons of high degree who have lost their wealth: for they, no less than the rich, are descended from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob."

And he also said: "He who refuses help to a sick man is looked on as a murderer. He who enjoys anything, whatsoever it be, without having first thanked the Creator, commits sacrilege. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: that is the great principle of the Law. God foresees all and yet man has his free choice."

Turnus Rufus, the wicked prince, asked Akiba: "What difference is there between the Sabbath and the other days?" He replied: "What difference is there between you and other men?" Rufus said: "The King, my master, would have it so." And Akiba replied: "It is even thus with the Sabbath: God, my Master, would have it so." (*Sanhedrin.*)

Trust in God

One day Rabbi Gamaliel, Rabbi Eleazar ben Azarya, Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Akiba were travelling together and heard from a distance of one hundred and twenty miles the noise that went up from Aram. All save Rabbi Akiba burst into tears, but he laughed. "Why do you laugh?" they asked him. "And why do you weep?" he asked them. "See," they answered, "these idolaters who pray to images and burn incense before them, live in safety and happiness—and our House, the footstool of the true God, has been destroyed by fire: shall we not weep?" "But for that very reason I must laugh," replied Akiba. "For if this happiness be the portion of those who transgress the Divine Will, think of the joy reserved for those who have obeyed it!"

On another occasion they went up together to Jerusalem. When they reached Mount Zophim [Mount Scopus] [1] they rent their garments: and when they were on the Mount of

[1] On which the first Hebrew University was opened, April 1, 1925. (Tr.)

the Temple they saw a jackal come out of the place that had been the Holy of Holies. Then they began to weep—but Akiba laughed. "Why do you laugh?" they asked him. "And why do you weep?" "What then?" they asked. "Behold the Place of which it was written: the profane who shall approach it shall be struck dead. And even now we have seen the fulfilment of another word that was written concerning it: The Mountain of Zion, in ruins, overrun by foxes. And shall we not weep?" "But for that very reason I must laugh," answered Akiba. "For Uriah the priest said: the Mountain of Zion shall be harrowed like a field, Jerusalem shall be a heap of ruins, and the Mountain of the Temple shall be a woody hill. And Zechariah, the son of Berachya, said: Once more the old men and the old women shall be seated in the squares of Jerusalem, staff in hand, and the squares of the city shall be full of boys and girls at play. And as long as the prophecy of Uriah was not fulfilled I could fear that the prophecy of Zechariah would remain unfulfilled too. But with the fulfilment of the prophecy of Uriah, I know that the prophecy of Zechariah will be utterly fulfilled." "Akiba, Akiba," cried the others, "you have comforted us, you have comforted us." (*Makkoth.*)

The Death of Akiba

When Rome forbade Israel to teach the Torah, what did Akiba do? He called together great assemblies, and taught the Torah. Pappus, the son of Judah, came to him and said: "Akiba, fearest thou not this people?" And Akiba replied: "Pappus, art thou he whom they call the wise? Thou art but a fool. I will relate a parable unto thee.

"A fox walked by the side of a stream, and in the water saw fish fleeing hither and thither. 'Why do ye flee?' he asked them. And they replied: 'To escape from the nets which are spread for us.' And the fox said: 'Come out upon the land, and we will live together, as your fathers and my fathers lived together.' And they replied: 'Art thou indeed

he whom they call the most cunning of animals? Thou art but a fool: if we are afraid here in the water, which is the place of our life, shall we not be all the more afraid on the land, which is the place of our death?'

"It is thus with us, Pappus," went on Akiba. "If we are afraid while we study the Torah, of which it is written: It is thy life, and the increase of thy days—shall we not be the more afraid if we cease from studying it?"

A few days later Akiba was arrested and imprisoned; and they also arrested Pappus, the son of Judah, who was imprisoned together with Akiba. And Akiba asked him: "What brought thee hither, Pappus?" "Happy art thou, Akiba," answered Pappus, "for thou art in prison for the sake of the Torah, but I am here for vain things!"

When they brought forth Akiba and led him to his death, it was the hour of the Shema [the prayer "Hear, O Israel"]. They combed his flesh with iron combs, and he prayed, accepting with love the yoke of the kingdom of heaven. And his pupils cried: "Enough, Master, enough!" But he replied: "Every day I wept over the words: And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with *all thy soul.* I asked myself: Will that moment ever come? And now that the moment has come shall I not fulfil my desire?" And when he said "The Lord is one" he dwelt on the word "one" until his soul left his body.

Then was heard a voice from heaven saying: "Happy art thou, Rabbi Akiba, whose soul went forth still proclaiming My Unity: for thou art destined to eternal life!" (*Berachoth.*)

RABBI MEIR (2ND CENTURY)

Rabbi Meir and His Master

Elisha ben Abuya, the teacher of Meir, turned away from God. How did this thing come to pass? One Sabbath day he saw a man climb to the summit of a tree, take down a bird and its young, and descend without mishap. On another occasion, the Sabbath day being over, he saw another man

climb to the summit of a tree, and take only the young, leaving the mother bird to escape. And as this man climbed down from the tree, he was bitten by a serpent, so that he died. "This man," said Elisha, "has observed the precept: If a bird's nest chance to be before thee in the way in any tree, or on the ground, whether they be young ones or eggs, and the dam sitting upon the young, or upon the eggs, thou shalt not take the dam with the young: but thou shalt in any wise let the dam go, and take the young to thee: that it may be well with thee and that thou mayest prolong thy days. [Deut. 22: 6, 7.] Yet wherein is it well with him, and how have his days been prolonged?" Others tell that he had seen a dog devouring the tongue of Rabbi Judah, the baker: 'If this be the fate of the tongue which, while it was a living thing, was given all its days to the utterance of the Torah, what shall be the fate of the tongue which never laboured therein? Then there is neither reward, nor punishment, nor any resurrection of the dead. . . ."

Some time later Elisha ben Abuya fell sick, and it was told to Rabbi Meir: "Elisha, thy master, is sick." Meir went to see him, and said: "Master, repent." "Will God receive me again?" "Surely: is it not written: Thou turnest man to destruction, and sayest, Return, ye children of men." Then Elisha ben Abuya wept, and weeping died.

Rabbi Meir rejoiced and said: "It seems that my master left this world a penitent." Later, when Elisha had been buried, a flame threatened to consume his tomb. The thing was told to Rabbi Meir: "The tomb of thy master is in flames." Rabbi Meir went forth, spread his *talith* [praying shawl] over the tomb and pronounced these words: "The goodness of the Eternal is given to all: and if He shall refuse to save thee, then, as God liveth, I shall save thee: sleep till the resurrection!" And the flame was extinguished. (*Koheleth Rabba.*)

The Sayings of Rabbi Meir

Rabbi Meir said: "He who gives himself up to the study of the Torah for its own sake has merited many things: more than this—he alone is worth the whole world. He is called the well-beloved, he loves God and loves mankind; he rejoices God and rejoices mankind. It clothes him with meekness and reverence, and renders him just, pious, upright and faithful; it removes him from sin and brings him nearer to worthiness. From him the world receives counsel and wisdom, understanding and power, as it is written: Counsel is mine and sound wisdom; I am understanding, I have strength. [Prov. 8: 14.] It gives him sovereignty and dominion and discerning judgment; to him are unfolded secrets of the Torah and he becomes like a never-failing fountain, like a strong flowing river; he becomes modest, long-suffering and forgiving of insult; it magnifies him and exalts him above all things." (*Aboth,* VI, 1.)

He said, moreover: "Limit thy business, that thou mayest also have time for the study of the Torah. He is rich who rejoices in his portion. Chew thy food well and thou wilt feel it to thy very heels. The loveliest of God's creations is peace."

The Mourning of Rabbi Meir

As Rabbi Meir sat in the *Beth Ha-Medrish* [school] one Sabbath day, toward the hour of Minchah [the afternoon prayer], his two children died at home. His wife put them both in one bed and covered them. When the Sabbath was ended Rabbi Meir returned to his home, and asked: "Where are the children?" "They went to the *Beth Ha-Medrish,*" answered his wife. "I waited for them, and I did not see them," said Rabbi Meir. Then his wife gave him the bowl of wine, he made the Havdalah [farewell prayer to the Sabbath] and asked again: "Where are the children?" And she answered: "They have gone out and will return." She then served the meal, and when he had eaten he made the benediction. When

he was done his wife said: "Rabbi, I have a question to ask." "Speak." "Rabbi, a man was here some time ago and left a sum of money with me. He is coming now to claim it. Shall I return it to him or not?" "My child, whosoever has something in trust for another, must return it to the owner." "I did not want to return it without your knowing of it." And then she took Rabbi Meir by the hand, brought him into the room and over to the bed, and drew back the cover that lay on her children; and he saw them lying dead on the bed. And he cried out: "My children, my children, my teachers, my teachers! My children who reverenced me, my teachers who enlightened me!" Then his wife said: "Did you not say that what I held in trust I must return to the Owner?" And he replied: "The Lord giveth, the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord." (*Midrash Mishle.*)

RABBI SIMON BEN JOCHAI (2ND CENTURY)

The Advice of Rabbi Simon

A woman of Sidon had lived ten years with her husband without bearing children. They came before Rabbi Simon to be divorced. He said: "I charge you—as your union was celebrated by a feast of meats and wine, so shall your separation be celebrated by a feast of meats and wine." They accepted his counsel. They fixed a day for the festival and made a great feast, and at the feast the husband became drunk. Then he said to his wife: "My daughter, take the most precious thing in my house, and return to the house of your father." And when he was asleep she summoned her servants and bade them carry him, together with the bed, to her father's house. Toward midnight he awoke from his drunkenness, and at once he asked his wife: "My daughter, whither have they carried me?" "To the house of my father." "What shall I do here?" "Did you not say last night: Take the most precious thing in my house and return to the house of your father? I know of nothing in the whole world more

precious than yourself." They returned again before Rabbi Simon; he rose and prayed for them, and the woman became a mother. (*Shir-ha-Shirim Rabba.*)

Rabbi Simon and the Romans

Rabbi Juda, Rabbi Jose and Rabbi Simon were together one day, and Rabbi Juda, a son of proselytes, was with them. Rabbi Juda began to speak and said: "How beautiful are the works of the Romans, the market-places, the bridges and the baths which they have built." Rabbi Jose said nothing, but Rabbi Simon remarked: "They have made nothing except for their own benefit, the markets that they might sell girls, the baths for their amusement and the bridges for the collection of tolls." Juda, the son of the proselytes, repeated this conversation, which reached the ears of the Roman Governor. And the Roman Governor exalted Rabbi Juda, because he had extolled the Romans, exiled Rabbi Jose to Sepphoris, because he had held his peace and condemned Rabbi Simon to death, because he had spoken disrespectfully of the Romans. Simon and his son hid themselves in a schoolhouse, and every day the wife of Rabbi Simon brought him a pitcher of water, bread and cabbages. But when the Governor became more severe in his measures, Simon said to his son: "The spirit of woman is light; perchance they will use violence, and we shall be discovered." And they hid themselves in a cave. There a miracle took place; a carob-tree began to blossom and a spring to flow. . . . (*Sabbath.*)

When twelve years had passed, Rabbi Simon said: "If I do not leave this place I shall not know what is happening on earth." He went out and sat down at the entrance to the cave. Then he saw a bird-catcher who had a bird in his snare. And suddenly he heard an echo from heaven: "Freedom!" And the bird was saved. Then he said: "Even a bird cannot die without the command of God,—much less a man." And he fled to Tiberias. (*Sheviith,* Tal. Jer.)

The Sayings of Rabbi Simon ben Jochai

"To frequent the company of the Masters of the Law, and to be at their service, is more profitable even than to study the Law. A man should speak of his virtues softly and of his faults loudly. Cast thyself into a burning furnace rather than shame thy fellow in public. God gave Israel three excellent things: the Torah, the Holy Land and the life to come; but these were not given to Israel except after much suffering."

RABBI CHANINA BEN TERADION (2ND CENTURY)

The Death of Rabbi Chanina

When Rabbi Jose ben Kisma fell sick, Rabbi Chanina ben Teradion came to visit him. To him Rabbi Jose said: "My brother, do you not see that it is the will of heaven that the Romans should rule? They have destroyed the House of God, slain the faithful and the good—and still they live. Yet I have heard say that you go on teaching the Torah (which the Romans have forbidden), and that you call together great assemblies, and that you carry the Book in your bosom." "Heaven will have mercy on us," said Rabbi Chanina. And Rabbi Jose retorted: "I give you words of good counsel—and you answer me: Heaven will have mercy on us! It would not astonish me at all if you were to be put to the flames, together with the volume of the Torah. . . ." And Rabbi Chanina said: "Master, what shall I be in the world to come?" "Tell me one of your acts." "My purim-money [for merry-making on that festival] became mixed in my pocket with my alms-money. So I gave all of it to the poor." "If this be so," said Rabbi Jose, "would that your portion were my portion, and that your destiny were mine!"

A few days later Rabbi Jose ben Kisma died: all the nobles of Rome came to the obsequies, and a great funeral oration was pronounced. As they returned from the obsequies the

Romans came across Rabbi Chanina ben Teradion, who was seated before a great assembly, teaching from the Book of the Torah, which he held in his hand. They took him and swathed him in the wrappings of the Torah, heaped around him faggots that were still green and set fire to them; they also took sponges of linen, which they dipped in water and placed over his heart, in order that his soul might not leave him too quickly. His daughter cried out: "O my father, that I must see you thus!" And he replied: "If I were to be burned alone it might be a bitter thing for me. But since I am being burned together with the book of the Torah, he that is guilty of the offence against the Torah is also guilty of the offence against me." His pupils said to him: "Master, what do you see?" And he answered: "The parchment burns, but the letters fly away." "Then you, too, open your mouth and breathe in the flame [that his soul might fly away]." "He that has given it to me, let Him take it back. I shall not do it myself." Then the executioner said: "Master, if I heap up the flame upon you, and take away the sponges of linen which are over your heart, will you bring me into the world to come?" "Yes." "Swear it." And the rabbi swore. Then the executioner increased the flame and took away the sponges of linen from over his heart, and his soul went forth quickly; then the executioner leapt into the fire and also died. And a voice was heard from heaven, saying: "Rabbi Chanina and his executioner shall have their portion in the world to come." And Rabbi Judah wept and said: "There are some who win eternity in one hour and others must labour how many years!" (*Avodah Zara.*)

RABBI ELEAZAR BEN SIMON (2ND CENTURY)

The Haughtiness of Rabbi Eleazar

Our Masters taught: "A man should be yielding, like the reed, not hard, like the cedar." Rabbi Eleazar, son of Rabbi Simon, was returning from the school of his teacher, at Mig-

dal Guedor, and he rode on his donkey along the bank of the river; and he was filled with haughtiness, because he had learned much Torah. And there crossed his path a man, who was ugly. The man said: "Peace unto you, Rabbi." And the Rabbi did not answer, but said: "How ugly the man is! Tell me, are all the men of your city as ugly as you?" The other replied: "I do not know. Go and tell the craftsman who made me: How ugly is this, the vessel Thou hast made!" When Rabbi Eleazar saw that he had sinned he went down from his donkey, prostrated himself before the man and said: "Pardon me, I pray you!" But the other replied: "I will not pardon you until you say to the craftsman who made me: 'How ugly is this, the vessel Thou hast made.'" And the Rabbi walked behind him, until they came to the village. The men of the village came out to meet the rabbi, and said: "Peace be to you, our Rabbi, our teacher!" And the man said: "Who is he whom you call Rabbi and teacher?" And they said: "The man who is walking behind you." "If he be a teacher," said the man, "may there be few like him in Israel!" They asked him why he said this, and he told them what had happened. "Pardon him nevertheless," they said, "for he is a man great in the Torah." "For your sakes I will pardon him, but let him never act in like fashion again." Rabbi Eleazar soon came to the school, and taught that day: "A man should be yielding, like the reed, not hard, like the cedar." (*Taanith.*)

RABBI JOSE THE GALILEAN (2ND CENTURY)

The Rabbi and His Wife

Rabbi Jose had a wicked wife, who was his sister's daughter; she humbled him before his pupils. His pupils said to him: "Send away this wicked woman, who is not to your honour." He replied: "Her dowry is too large for me. I have not the wherewithal to give it back to her." One day he and Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah were seated at study.

When they had ended Rabbi Jose said to his wife: "Is there anything in that pot?" And she replied: "Locust beans." He went and uncovered the pot, and found a chicken there. At first Rabbi Eleazar made it appear that he had heard nothing. They sat down and ate. Then Rabbi Eleazar said: "Master, she said the pot held locust beans, and we are eating chicken." "A miracle," replied Rabbi Jose. "Master," said Eleazar, "leave this woman, for she was not made to do you honour." Rabbi Jose replied: "Her dowry is too large for me. I have not wherewith to return it to her." Rabbi Eleazar said: "I will return her dowry to her. Send her away." And this was done.

Rabbi Jose married another woman, who was better than the first, and his first wife, for her sins, married a watchman of the city. After some time the man fell sick and became blind; and she took him by the hand and led him through the streets of the city. But when they came to the street of Rabbi Jose the Galilean, she stopped and turned back. But the man knew the city well, and he asked: "Why do you not lead me by the house of Rabbi Jose? I have heard that he gives greatly of his charity." She replied: "I am divorced from him, and cannot look upon him." Nevertheless they went to beg in that quarter of the city. The first day they quarrelled; the next day the blind man beat his wife; their cries were heard and they were humiliated before all the city. And Rabbi Jose looked whence the cries came, and he said to the man: "Why do you beat her?" And the man answered: "Every day she causes me to lose alms in this street." Then Rabbi Jose took both of them, and gave them one of his houses, to live there, and fed them as long as they lived, as it is written: "From those that are thy own flesh thou shalt not turn away." (*Bereishith Rabba.*)

RABBI JOSE BEN CHALAFTA (2ND CENTURY)

The Marriage

A Roman matron asked Rabbi Jose, son of Chalafta: "In how many days did the Holy One, blessed be He, create the world?" "In six days," he replied. "And what has He been doing ever since?" "Making marriages." "And is that all He does?" asked the woman. "I could do as much myself. I have men slaves and women slaves. In one little hour I can marry them all." "Though it may appear easy in your eyes," said the Rabbi, "yet every marriage means as much to the Holy One, blessed be He, as the splitting of the Red Sea." What did the woman do when Rabbi Jose was gone? She took a thousand men slaves and a thousand women slaves, placed them in two ranks, and said: "Let this one take that one, let this one take that one"—and in a single night she married them. The next morning the women came to the house of their mistress. One had a cracked crown, another a bruised eye, a third a limb broken. "What ails you all?" she asked. And they replied, each one: "I will not live with this one—I will not live with that one. . . ." Then the woman sent for Rabbi Jose, and said to him: "There is no God like your God, and your Torah is beautiful and praiseworthy, for you were in the right." And he replied: "Did I not say that though a good marriage may seem an easy thing in your eyes, to God it means as much labour as the miracle of the splitting of the Red Sea?" (*Bereishith Rabba.*)

RABBI JUDA THE SAINT (SURNAMED RABBI)

Rabbi and the Animals

By something which he did, Rabbi brought upon himself the tribulations of sickness, and by something which he did he rid himself of the sickness.

One day, as a calf was being led to the slaughterhouse, it

fled toward Rabbi, hid its head under his mantle, and wept. And Rabbi said: "Go, you were born for the slaughterhouse." Because he showed no pity to the beast, his sickness came upon him.

Another day the servant of Rabbi was sweeping the house. The cat and her kittens lay on the floor, and he would have swept them out, too, but Rabbi said to him: "Let them be, for it is written: The compassion of God is given to all his creatures." Because he pitied them God pitied him, and he was cured. (*Baba Mezia.*)

The Soul and the Body

"The soul and the body can both escape punishment," said Antoninus to Rabbi. "How? The body can say: The soul committed the sin, for see, ever since the soul left me, I have been lying in my tomb mute as a stone. And the soul can say: It was the body that committed the sin, for see, ever since I left it I have been flying through space like a bird." And Rabbi replied: "Let me tell you a parable. To what can this thing be compared? There was a king of flesh and blood, who had a beautiful pleasure garden, wherein grew the loveliest of early fruits. He put two keepers in the garden, and one of them was blind, the other paralytic. One day the paralytic said to his blind companion: 'I see some beautiful fruit: come, I will climb up on your shoulders, we will pluck the fruit and eat it.' And the paralytic climbed up on the shoulders of the blind man, and they plucked the fruit and ate it. After a few days the owner of the garden appeared, and asked: 'Where are my beautiful fruits?' And the paralytic replied: 'How can I have taken them, I who have no limbs?' And the blind man said: 'How can I have taken them, I who cannot see?' What did the king do? He put the paralytic on the shoulders of the blind man, and he punished them both together. Even so will the Holy One, blessed be He, seek out the soul, put it back in the body, and punish both of them together." (*Sanhedrin.*)

The Sayings of Rabbi

Rabbi said: "The true happiness of a man is only with his first wife. He who does not teach his son a profession, teaches him to be a thief. The world is sustained by the pure breath of children who go to school."

He said further: "Apply thyself to the observation of the minor precepts no less than of the major precepts, for thou canst not tell what recompense is attached to either. Be filled with the knowledge of three things, and thou wilt not fall into sin: Know that above thee is an Eye which seeth all things, and an Ear which heareth all things, and remember that all thy actions are written into the Book."

The Death of Rabbi

The inhabitants of Sepphoris had said: "The man who will announce the death of the rabbi we shall kill." Bar Kappara placed himself at the window, his raiment torn and his head covered in mourning, and said to the passers-by: "Men and angels strove for the Tables of the Covenant, and the angels triumphed and carried them off." And they said: "What? Then Rabbi is dead?" "It is you who have said it!" They tore their raiment, and the noise of their weeping was heard three leagues away.

That same day there were prodigies performed. It was the eve of the Sabbath, and from all the villages the people arrived to observe the obsequies of Rabbi; eighteen communities extolled him, and then his body was lowered into the grave. But on that day the sun did not set until every man had returned to his home, filled himself a cask of water, and kindled a light. No sooner had the sun set than the cock began to crow. They were all filled with fear, and wondered whether they had profaned the Sabbath. But an echo was heard from heaven, saying: "To all those who shared in the obsequies for Rabbi the eternal life to come is promised; there is no share in the life to come for the fuller" [who had not

taken part in the obsequies]. When the fuller heard this he threw himself from the roof of his house and was killed. Then the echo was heard again, proclaiming: "For the fuller, too, there is a share in the eternal life to come." (*Kilayim,* Tal. Jer.)

Chapter III

THE TWO ASPECTS OF TRADITION

1. Halachah (Juridical Tradition)

LOANS

"TAKE thou no usury of thy brother, or increase: but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase." (Lev. 25: 36-37.)

What is to be understood by usury? What is to be understood by increase?

It is usury, for example, for a man to lend out a sela [four deniers] for five deniers, for he exploits his brother. It is increase, for example, for a man to buy a measure of cheese for a gold denier [twenty-five silver deniers], when the cheese stood at this price, and when the value of the cheese rose to thirty deniers, to go to the buyer, and say: "Give me back my cheese, I wish to buy wine in its place." The buyer, having no wine, replies: "Let us consider that the cheese was sold to me at the price of thirty deniers, and you will get from me thirty deniers' worth of wine."

If a man has made a loan to another, he must not go and live in that man's house at a reduced price, because of the loan, nor take lodgings from him more cheaply, for this would be getting usury for his loan.

Certain loans without usury are, however, forbidden, in that they represent a certain profit indirectly. For example, one man says to another: "Lend me a sela [or twenty-five deniers]." The other replies: "I have only a kour of cheese; take it." He gives it to the borrower (for twenty-five deniers),

then buys it back for twenty-four deniers. There was no loan with usury, but there was usury indirectly. (*Baba Mezia,* Ch. V, Mishna, 1, 2.)

SALE OF A SLAVE

When an Israelite sells his slave to a pagan or to some one abroad, the slave thereby recovers his liberty. To a pagan, if the sale is made in Palestine. Who is he that draws up the letter of liberation? The first owner pays back to the second owner the sum which he received from the latter for the sale of the slave, and the second owner draws up the letter of liberation. This is done abroad, even if the sale is made to a Jew. Is it necessary to say that if the second master knows this legal disposition, each of the two owners loses one-half of the price of the slave, and that if the second owner does not know this, the first must make restitution of the price to the second, who draws up the letter of liberation? (*Gittin,* Ch. IV, Mishna, 7.)

THE RIGHT TO FUNERAL OBSEQUIES

No funeral rites shall be observed for him who has taken his own life. . . . The clothes shall not be torn, neither shall the shoulders be uncovered, neither shall mourning be worn for him; it is permitted, however, to stand in rows and say the funeral benedictions, for these are a mark of respect to the survivors.

If a man be found strangled, or hanging from a tree, or with his throat cut, or fallen upon his sword, he shall not be looked upon as a suicide, unworthy of funeral rites.

The son of Gornos one day ran away from school; his father having threatened to box his ears, the boy took fright and killed himself by jumping into a brook. On being asked, Rabbi Tarphon said: "Funeral rites shall not be refused him." (*Semakoth,* Ch. II, Mishna, 1, 3, 4.)

SERVICE IN THE POPULAR TONGUE

There are some who read the Book of Lamentations on the eve before the Ninth of Ab; others wait until the morning, and so, after the reading of the Torah, a man rises, his head covered with ashes and his raiment torn, and, amidst tears and plaints, he reads from the book of Jeremiah. If he knows how to translate he does so. If not, he lets some one translate who knows how to do it, in order that the people, the women and the children, may understand; for the women must understand what is read, and, much more, the men. The woman must also know how to read the Shema [Hear, O Israel . . .] and the Prayer of the Eighteen Benedictions. If she does not know the Holy Tongue, she must be taught these prayers in whatever language she knows or can be taught in. And for this reason it is said: "Whosoever utters a prayer, let him lift up his voice, that his children, his wife and his grandchildren may hear." (*Soferim.*)

THE CONVERT

If a man desires to be converted to Judaism, he shall not be received at once, but they shall say to him: "Why dost thou desire to be converted? Thou seest that this nation is oppressed and unhappy beyond all other nations, that evil and suffering come upon it, that they of Israel bury their children, and their children bury them, that they are killed because they observe circumcision, the ritual bath and other commandments, and that they cannot practise their religion openly like other peoples." If then he replies: "I am not worthy to place my neck under the yoke of Him who with a word created the universe," then he shall be received at once: but if he can make no reply, he shall be sent away. In case he shall have taken upon himself the yoke of heaven, he shall be conducted to the ritual bath, and when he shall have issued from it, certain commands of the Law shall be expounded

to him, among others the obligations under which he now lives respecting the law of gleaning, of forgotten sheaves, of the corners of the field, and of tithes. . . . Then good words, words of comfort, shall be spoken to him: "Salvation be with thee: knowest thou to whom thou art come? To Him who had but to speak that the world might be: for the world was created for the love of Israel, and Israel has a first place in the love of God: and our efforts to drive thee away from us were only intended to make greater thy merit." (*Gerim,* I.)

HATRED OF ONE'S NEIGHBOUR

It is forbidden for an Israelite to hate his neighbour; for it is written: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart." [Lev. 19: 17.] And we find that it was the hatred of the brothers for Joseph which brought our ancestors into the slavery of Egypt. . . . Our Rabbis have taught: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother." Perhaps by this might be understood: "Thou shalt not wound him, thou shalt not quarrel with him, thou shalt commit no outrage against him." It is for this reason that the prophet adds: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother *in thine heart,*" in order to make clear that it is not permitted to carry hatred toward any one within one's self, even if no outward expression is given to it. As to the punishment which is foreseen for unjustified hatred, it is equal to that which is imposed for the three capital crimes, which are: idolatry, luxury and murder. . . . Why did the first Temple fall? Because of idolatry, luxury and murder. . . . And why did the second Temple fall, since we know that in its time the Torah was observed, good works were practised, and the commandments were respected? It fell because of the unjustified hatreds which reigned then, from which it may be concluded that unjustified hatred is a sin as heavy as idolatry, luxury and murder. (*Gaon Achai Shabcha.*)

2. Haggadah (Non-Juridical Tradition)

CREATION AND REPENTANCE

Until the creation of the world, the Holy One, blessed be He, was alone with His Name. And the idea of the creation of the world rose in Him, and before it yet existed the world limned itself before Him. Even thus, a king who desires to build a palace will not begin to build if he does not draw first upon the ground the foundations, the doors and entrances of the palace. So God drew the world before Him, and the world was not, until the Holy One, blessed be He, had first created Repentance. There were seven things created before the creation of the world: the Torah, Sheol, the Garden of Eden, the Throne of Glory, the Sanctuary, Repentance and the name of the Messiah. (*Pirke of Rabbi Eliezer.*)

THE CREATION OF MAN

When God was about to create Adam he had already created the attendant angels, rank by rank and group by group. And there were some who said: "Let man be created," and others said, "Let not man be created." As it is written: Grace and Truth met, and Justice and Peace embraced. Justice said to God, "Create man, for he will give charity." Peace said: "Do not create him, for he will do nothing but quarrel." Grace said: "Create him, for he will do deeds of kindness." Truth said: "Do not create him, for he will do nothing but lie."

What did God do? He took Truth and threw her to the earth. And his attendant angels asked: "Dost Thou despise Truth, that is thy seal? Let her rise again from the earth!" —as it is written: And Truth rises from the earth. (*Bereishith Rabba.*)

THE CREATION OF WOMAN

When God, creating Woman, wished to take some part of man's body, he said: "I will not take the head, that she may not be proud; nor the eye, that she may not be curious; nor the ear, that she may not be an eavesdropper; nor the mouth, that she may not be talkative; nor the heart, that she may not be envious; nor the hand, that she may not finger everything; nor the leg, that she may not be a gadabout; but I shall make her out of some discreet part of man, a part that is not seen, even when he is naked." (And for this reason woman was created from the rib of the man.) And as He fashioned every part of her, He said: "Let her not be proud, nor curious, nor an eavesdropper, nor talkative, nor envious, nor fingering things, nor a gadabout." But see how you women have undone all His care. For He did not make her out of the head, and she is proud, nor out of the eye, and she is curious; nor out of the ear, and she is an eavesdropper; nor out of the mouth, and she is talkative; nor out of the heart, and she is envious; nor out of the hand, and she is always fingering things; nor out of the leg, and she is a gadabout. (*Bereishith Rabba.*)

THE OBSEQUIES OF ABEL

Adam and his mate were seated, weeping and lamenting for Abel, and they knew not what to do with him, for they knew nothing of interment. And behold, there came a raven, whose mate was dead, and he scratched out the soil, and took his dead mate and buried her, before the eyes of the man and the woman. Then Adam said: "I will do what the raven did." And he hollowed out the earth and placed therein the corpse of Abel and buried him. (*Pirke of Rabbi Eliezer.*)

NOAH'S VINE

When Noah, after the Deluge, planted the vine, Satan approached him and said: "What are you planting?" "The vine," answered Noah. "Let me help you," said Satan. "I will bring you excellent manure." Noah accepted the offer. Then Satan went and got himself a ewe, a lion, a pig and an ape; he slaughtered these, one after the other, and poured their blood into the ground where the vine was planted. "So much for the man," said the fiend to himself, and he was filled with joy. "From now on he will drink in with the wine all the vices of these beasts whose blood is mingled with the vine: if he will drink a little, he will be soft, like the sheep; if he drink much, he will be haughty and quarrelsome, like the lion; if he drink still more, he will become like the pig, and like the pig will roll in his filth; and if he drink more still, he will be laughable, like the ape, and like the ape will babble madness." (*Midrash Tanchuma.*)

ABRAHAM AND THE IDOLS

Terach, father of Abram (Abraham), was a maker and seller of idols. One day he went out, leaving his son in care. And when a man came to buy an idol, Abram asked him: "How old are you?" And the other replied: "Fifty years, sixty years. . . ." "Alas," said Abram, "you who are sixty years old will bow down before a thing that is but one day old!" And the man was ashamed and left without buying an idol.

One day a woman came, carrying a plateful of rye. She said to Abram: "Take this, and go before one of the idols, and offer this sacrifice." Abram rose and took a stick and broke the idols; then put the stick in the hand of the largest idol. When his father returned, he asked: "Who has done this?" And Abram replied: "There came a woman, with a plateful of rye, and she approached me and said: 'Take this, and go before one of the idols, and offer sacrifice.' And

I did so, and one of the idols said: 'I want to eat first, and another said: 'I want to eat first.' And the biggest of them took this stick, and broke the others." And Terach said: "You are mocking me!" and he brought him before Nimrod.

Nimrod said to Abram: "We bow in worship to the fire." Abram replied: "And we to water, which extinguishes fire." Nimrod said: "So be it, let us bow to water." And Abram replied: "Then let us bow to the cloud, which brings the water." "So be it," said Nimrod, "let us bow to the cloud." "Then," said Abram, "let us bow to the wind, which disperses the cloud." "To the wind, then," said Nimrod. "Then," said Abram, "let us bow to the son of man, who resists the wind." "Since you make merry with words," said the king, "see, I bow to fire, and you shall be thrown therein; and let the God to whom you bow come and save you." And Haran was there too, and his heart was divided between Abram and Nimrod. And he said: "If Abram gets the better of it, I will say that I am with Abram, and if Nimrod gets the better of it, I will say that I am with Nimrod." Abram came forth alive from the furnace, and they asked Haran: "With whom are you?" And he said: "With Abram." They threw him into the fire: but his entrails were burned, and, when he came out, he died in front of his father, Terach. (*Bereishith Rabba.*)

THE TORAH AND THE ANGELS

It has been said by Rabbi Joshua Ben Levi: when Moses came into the upper heights, the attendant angels asked of God: "Lord of the Universe, what brings this son of woman among us?" And God replied: "He has come to receive the Torah." And the angels asked: "Will Thou entrust to flesh and blood the jewel thou has preserved since the nine hundred and seventy-fourth generation before the making of the world? What is man, that Thou shouldst remember him,

and the son of man that Thou shouldst consider him?" "Answer them," said God unto Moses. "Lord of the Universe," answered Moses: "I am afraid lest they burn me with the breath of their mouths." And God said: "Lay hold of the Throne of my Glory and answer them." Then Moses spoke: "Lord of the Universe, what is there in the Torah that Thou wouldst give me? I read therein: *I am the Lord thy God who brought thee forth from the land of Egypt.*" Then, turning to the angels, he said: "Were you in Egypt? Were you oppressed of Pharaoh? What is the Torah to you? I read again: *Thou shalt have none other gods but me.* Do you dwell in the midst of idolatrous nations? And I read still further: *Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.* What labour do you do? What need have you of rest? And further still: *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.* Is there giving and taking among you? And *Honour thy father and thy mother.* Have the angels fathers? Have the angels mothers? *Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not commit adultery. . . .* Do envy and evil desire exist among you?" Then God approved the gift, and the angels became the friends of Moses and gave him each one a present. (*Sabbath.*)

THE TORAH AND HUMANITY

"And they encamped in the desert." The Torah was given to Israel publicly, in a place which belonged to no man. If it had been given in the land of Israel, Israel might have said to the peoples of the earth: "You have no portion in the Torah." And for this reason it was given publicly and in a place which belonged to no man. Thinkest thou perchance it was given in the night? No, for it is written: *"And it was on the third day, when the morning was risen."* Thinkest thou perchance it was given in silence? No, for it is written: *"There was thunder and lightning."* Or thinkest

thou perchance that these thunders were not heard? No, for it is written: *"And all the people heard the crashing of the thunder. . . ."*

When the Holy One, blessed be He, pronounced the words, "I am the Lord thy God," the earth trembled, and all the kings of the earth ran to Balaam, the impious, to question him. But when they heard him say that God was about to give the Torah to his people, they all returned, each one to his place. The peoples had been called together, that they might not say afterward: "Had the Torah been offered to us, we should have accepted it." For it was offered to them, and they refused it, as it is written: *"The Lord appeared on Sinai, and He burned upon Seir—for them: He showed himself upon the Mountain of Pharan, on His right a place of fire—for them."* And He revealed himself first to the children of Esau, saying: "Will you also accept the Torah?" They asked Him: "What is written therein?" And he answered: "Thou shalt not kill!" Then they said: "We cannot accept the Torah, for the blessing of our father, his heritage, was: By thy sword shalt thou live." Then God revealed himself to the Ammonites and to the Moabites, and He asked them: "Will you accept the Torah?" They asked Him: "What is written therein?" And when He replied, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," they answered: "How shall we accept it? Are we not all the issue of adultery?" [Gen. 19: 36.] Then God revealed Himself to the children of Ishmael, saying: "Will you accept the Torah?" And they asked: "What is written therein?" And when he answered: "Thou shalt not steal," they replied, "How shall we accept it? Was not the blessing of our father: *He shall be a savage man, and his hand shall be against every man, for I have been stolen away from the land of the Hebrews"?* But when God came before the children of Israel, with the fire of the Torah on His right, they cried as with one voice: "All that the Lord hath said, we shall do and obey." (*Mechilta, Jethro.*)

MOSES AND THE SCHOOL OF AKIBA

As Moses came into the upper heights he found the Holy One, blessed be He, seated and engaged in adding little crowns (ornaments and signs) to the letters of the Torah. "Lord of the Universe," said Moses, "why shouldst Thou not give me the Torah without the ornaments?" And God answered: "After many generations there will arise a man, and Akiba will be his name; and on each of these ornaments he will propound new interpretations." "Lord of the Universe," said Moses, "may it be given to me to see him!" "Turn and go," answered God. Then Moses turned and sat behind the eighth row in the school of Akiba; but he could understand nothing of what Akiba taught, and his strength was turned to weakness. And as Akiba propounded, his pupils asked him: "Rabbi, whence hast thou this?" And he answered: "From among the teachings which Moses received at Sinai." Then the soul of Moses was calm again. He came again before the Holy One, blessed be He, and he said: "Lord of the Universe, such a man is Thine, yet wouldst thou give the Torah through me!" And God answered: "Be silent: such is My will." (*Menachoth.*)

THE MODESTY OF MOSES

Rabbi Jochanaan Ben Levi said: As Moses came down from before the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He, who had given him the Torah, Satan came before the Lord and said: "Lord of the Universe, where is the Torah?" And God replied: "I have given it to the earth." Then Satan fled earthward and asked the earth: "Where is the Torah?" The earth answered: "God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof." [Job 28: 23.] He went to the sea, and the sea said: "It is not with me," and to the abyss, and the abyss said: "It is not with me." And Pestilence and Death answered him: "Our ears have heard speak of it, but where it is we know not."

Then Satan went before God, saying: "Lord of the Universe, I have searched for the Torah throughout the whole earth, and I cannot find it." God answered: "Go, ask the son of Amram," and Satan went to the house of Moses, and said: "Where is the Torah which the Lord hath given thee?" And Moses replied: "What am I, that the Lord should give me the Torah?" Then God said unto Moses: "Moses, thou hast lied." But Moses answered the Lord: "Lord of the Universe, Thou hadst a hidden treasure which was Thy daily joy, and shall I boast that I possess it now?" And God said to Moses: "Since thou makest thyself small before the Torah, behold, it shall be called by thy name," as it is written: Remember the Law of Moses, my servant. (*Sabbath.*)

THE BURDENS OF THE TORAH

And Korach called the whole congregation together against Moses and Aaron, and spoke words of mockery before them, saying: "There was a widow who lived in my neighbourhood, she and her two orphan daughters; and they had a field. They came into the field to work it, and Moses said: 'Thou shalt not yoke the ox and the ass together to make them labour.' They came into the field to sow it, and Moses said: 'Thou shalt not sow thy field with seed of diverse kinds.' They came to put their grain in the store, and Moses said: 'Thou shalt give me the first tenth and the second tenth.' And it was just in the woman's eyes. What did she do then? She rose and sold her field.

"Then she took two ewes, that she might clothe herself with their wool and have profit of their increase. And when they brought forth young, Aaron came and said: 'Give me of the first-born, for this is the command of the Holy One, blessed be He.' And it was just in her eyes, and she gave him the young ones. And the time of the shearing came, and Aaron said: 'Thou shalt give me of the first shearing, for this is the command of the Holy One, blessed be He.' And she said

in her heart: 'It is not within my strength to resist this man. So I will kill them and eat them.' When she had slaughtered them, Aaron said: 'Give me the shoulder, the jaws and the stomach, for this is the law of God.' And she said in her heart: 'How then? Even though they are slaughtered, shall I not save them from his hand?' And she said: 'Then I will curse them!' But he replied: 'Then they are mine altogether, for such is the Law of the Holy One, blessed be He.' And he took the ewes and went away with them; and the widow remained, weeping, she and her two daughters." (*Yalkut, Korach,* Numbers 16: 1.)

THE DEATH OF MOSES

When the day of the death of Moses drew near, God said to him: "Behold, thy day is come." And Moses answered the Eternal and said: "Lord of the universe, after these many burdens which I have taken upon myself, Thou sayest: 'Thy day is come.' I do not wish to die: I would live, and recount my deeds." "Thou canst not," answered God, "for death is the lot of all mortal men . . . and I have resolved that Thou shalt not pass the Jordan. . . ." Then Moses imposed a fast upon himself, and drew a circle close about him, and said: "I shall not leave this place until the decree is annulled." And he clothed himself in sackcloth and put ashes on his head and prayed before God, and his prayers shook earth and heaven and all the orders of creation. And the creations of God thought: "Perhaps the hour is come when God will ordain a new creation." But the echo of the Divine Voice resounded, saying, "The hour is not yet come when God will ordain a new creation." Then what did God? He called to every tribunal, to every gate of heaven: "Ye shall not receive the prayer of Moses, nor shall ye permit it to come up before me, for his judgment is sealed." And He said to the attendant angels: "Go ye down and shut all the doors of all the heavens, for a voice of prayer shakes with might

the upper levels." They sought to close the heavens, and were not able, because of the voice of Moses in prayer; for his prayer was like a sword, which pierces and tears asunder, and nothing can stay it. . . . And Moses said before God: "Lord of the Universe, Thou knowest my pain and tribulation until the Children of Israel believed in Thy Name and received Thy Torah and Thy precepts: and I said in my heart: 'Since I have been with them in their suffering, I shall also be with them in their felicity,' and now the felicity of the Children of Israel is nigh, and Thou sayest: 'Thou shalt not cross the Jordan. . . .' Lord of the Universe, if Thou wilt not let me cross the Jordan, leave me at least in this world, that I may live, and not die." And God answered: "If thou diest not in this world, how shalt thou have the resurrection in the world to come?" "Lord of the Universe," said Moses, "if Thou wilt not let me enter the land of Israel, let me be at least like a beast of the field, which eats grass and drinks water and which lives, and takes pleasure in this life." And God replied: "Thou hast spoken sufficiently: say no more." "Let me be like a bird, which in the day flies throughout all the land and in the evening returns to its nest. . . ." Then God said to the archangel Gabriel: "Gabriel, go forth and bring me the soul of Moses." "Lord of the Universe," said the archangel, "the soul of Moses is worth sixty myriad souls: how shall I see him die?" Then God said to the archangel Michael: "Michael, go forth and bring me the soul of Moses." "Lord of the Universe," said the archangel, "I was his master and he my disciple: how shall I see him die?" Then God said to Samael the wicked: "Go forth and bring me the soul of Moses." And the demon armed himself with wrath and girded on his sword and clad himself in cruelty, and went forth toward Moses; but when he saw Moses seated, writing out the whole secret Name of the Eternal, which is in splendour like the sun or like an angel of the Lord Sabaoth, Samael was seized with fear, and he said: "There is no angel that dare take the soul of Moses." Then the echo of the

Divine Voice sounded, saying: "The moment of thy death is come. . . . But fear not, Moses; I myself will be with thee, and I myself shall do thy obsequies." Then Moses rose and sanctified himself, like the Seraphim; and the Holy One, blessed be He, came down for the soul of Moses from the highest heavens, and with him Michael, Gabriel and Sagsagel attendant. And Michael prepared the couch of the prophet, and Gabriel spread a veil of byssus for his head, and Sagsagel spread a veil of byssus for his feet. . . . Then God called the soul of Moses, saying: "My daughter, I gave thee the body of Moses for one hundred years for thy habitation; and now the end is come, hasten and tarry not." "Lord of the Universe," answered the soul, "I know that Thou art the God of all spirits, and that the souls of all the living and of all the dead are in Thy hand; Thou hast created me and formed me, and Thou gavest me for one hundred and twenty years the body of Moses; but is there in all the world a body which is purer than his? . . . I do not wish to leave it." "Go forth, go forth," said God, "and hesitate no longer; I shall bring thee up into the highest heavens and thou shalt dwell under the throne of My splendour, among the Cherubim and the Seraphim and the glorious hosts." "Lord of the universe," said the soul, "two angels have left the splendour of Thy Presence, Usa and Asael, who took delight in the daughters of men and were a corruption on earth. . . . But Moses, son of Amram, denied himself his wife since the hour when Thou didst reveal thyself to him in the burning bush. . . . I pray thee, leave me in the body of Moses." Then God bent and kissed the mouth of Moses and in the kiss drew out his soul. (*Debarim,* Ch. XXXIV, par. 11, *passim.*)

SOLOMON AND ASMODEUS

The House of God could be built only of stones unfashioned by any instrument of iron [I Kings 6]. And Solomon said to his wise men: "How shall this be done?" They answered:

"There is the *shamir,* which Moses put on the stones of the ephod." He asked them: "Where can it be found?" "Call forth the woman-demon and her young; press them close with words, and perchance they know and will reveal it unto thee." He called forth the woman-demon and her young, and he pressed them with words, but they answered: "We know not. Asmodeus knows, Asmodeus, king of the demons." "Where can he be found?" asked Solomon. "He lives in a mountain; in the mountain he digs himself a pit, fills it with water, and covers it with a stone which he seals with his seal. Every day he ascends to heaven, to hear the lesson of heaven; then he descends to earth, to hear the lesson of earth; then he returns, examines the seal, uncovers the pit, drinks, covers it again, seals it with his seal, and goes forth."

Then Solomon commanded Benaya, son of Jeyoiaha, to bring him a chain on which was graven the Holy Name, and a ring on which was graven the Holy Name, and pieces of wool and casks of wine. Then Benaya went and dug a pit under the pit of Asmodeus, filled it with water and covered it with the wool; then he dug a pit above the pit of Asmodeus, poured into it the wine, covered it, and went and sat in a tree. Asmodeus came, examined the seal, uncovered the pits and found the wine. He said: "It is written: wine is a mockery and the draught which brings drunkenness brings rage, and in it is all excess; wine and debauchery are the same temptation. I will not drink of it." But he was thirsty and could not refrain from drinking, and he became drunk and slept. Then Benaya came and threw the chain around him and locked it. Asmodeus woke and sought to break the chain, but Benaya said: "The Holy Name is upon thee, the Holy Name is upon thee."

Solomon said to Asmodeus: "I wish to build the House of the Sanctuary, and I must find the *shamir.*" And the demon replied: "It was not given to me in trust, but to the lord of the sea, and he gave it only to the heath-cock, under sacred oath. . . ." So they sought out the nest of a heath-cock

wherein lay the young, and they covered it with glass. And when the heath-cock returned, he sought to enter the nest and could not; so he brought out the *shamir* and laid it on the glass; but the messenger of the king threw himself upon the *shamir* and seized it, and the heath-cock killed himself, for he was under sacred oath to return the *shamir*. . . .

Solomon kept Asmodeus until the House of the Sanctuary was built. One day, while they were alone together, Solomon said: "Wherein is it that you spirits are not greater than man." And Asmodeus answered: Take off my chain and give me the ring and I will show thee." When the king had taken off the chain and had given him the ring, the demon took the ring and swallowed it; then, with one foot he touched heaven and with the other he was on earth, and he threw the king four hundred leagues. It was then that Solomon said: "What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?" And he went his way, begging from door to door. (*Gittin.*)

SOLOMON AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

When they sought the heath-cock among the birds, they could not find him; and King Solomon, in anger, commanded that he be brought, and would have killed him. Then the heath-cock said to King Solomon: "Lord King, listen and hear my words. Three months I have been flying over the earth seeking a city which obeys thee not. And behold, I have found in the east a city called Kitor; many people dwell there, and they obey a queen called Sheba. If it please thee, Lord King, I will go to the city and bind in chains of iron its kings and princes and bring them before thee." The thing pleased the King, and he commanded his scribes to write a letter and tie it to the wings of the heath-cock. The heath-cock came before the queen, who saw the letter under his wing, drew it forth and read it. And this was written in the letter: "I, Solomon, King, to thee and thy princes,

greeting. Thou knowest without doubt that God has set me as king over the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, the demons and spirits and incubi; all the kings of all the heavenly realms bend before me reverently; if thou wilt do likewise, thou shalt receive great honour; but if thou wilt refuse, I will send against thee my kings, my legions and my horsemen; and my kings are the beasts of the field, my horsemen are the birds of the air, and my legions are the spirits and the incubi, which will strangle you in your beds." When the Queen read these words she tore her raiment and commanded her sages and her counsellors to come before her and said: "Know you what King Solomon has sent me?" "We know," they answered, "and we are not afraid." But she heeded them not; and she commanded her almoners to send presents to the King, and, three years later, went to him herself. When King Solomon heard of her approach, he took his place in a chamber of crystal; she, seeing him, thought the King was enthroned in water, and disrobed herself to come to him. And when she had seen all his majesty, she said: "Blessed be the Lord, thy God, who taketh pleasure in thee and has put thee on the throne of royalty, to do grace and justice." (*II, Targum Esther.*)

THE BLOOD OF ZACHARIAH

Nebusaradon, captain of the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, seeing the blood seethe in the court of the Temple, asked the Hebrews: "What is that?" And they answered: "It is the blood of sacrifices that has been poured out." Then he poured out the blood of sacrifices, but the blood that seethed would not be stilled. Then he said: "If this be the truth you tell me, it is well; but if it be a lie, I will tear the skin from your bodies with iron combs." And they replied: "There was among us a prophet, who taught us divine things; and as he reproached us, we fell upon him and slew him, and so many years have passed since then, and his blood will not be stilled."

Then Nebusaradon said: "I will give him peace." He brought out the men of the Great Sanhedrin and of the Little Sanhedrin, and he slaughtered them above the blood, but the blood would not be stilled. Then he brought the children out of the schools, and slaughtered them above the blood, but the blood would not be stilled. Then he cried: "Zachariah, Zachariah, I have slaughtered the best among them: wouldst thou have me slaughter all of them?" And as he spoke the blood ceased from seething and was still. Then he thought in his heart to do penance, saying: "If this be the fate of one who killed not even one man, what shall be my fate, who have slaughtered so many?" And he fled, and turned Jew. (*Gittin.*)

THE END OF THE TEMPLE

When Jeremiah had left Jerusalem, an angel descended and placed his foot on the walls of the city and threw them down, crying: "Let the enemy come; let him enter the House which the Master has left: let him desecrate and destroy: let him go up to the vineyard and cut down the stock, for the keeper has forsaken it and is gone." Then the enemy came and went up to the place where Solomon had been enthroned to take counsel with his ancients, the place where the Temple was planned and wrought. And they sat there, taking counsel on the manner of burning the Temple. But while they sat there they raised their eyes, and, behold, four angels descended from the heights, and each one bore a blazing torch, and they placed the four torches one on each corner of the Temple, and the Temple went up in flames. When the High Priest saw that the Temple was on fire, he took the key of the Sanctuary and threw it toward the heavens, crying: "Here is the key of Thy House, of which I was the faithless keeper." Then he went forth to flee, but they caught him, and slaughtered him by the altar where every day he had offered sacrifice. And his daughter came, weeping and crying: "Alas,

my father, joy of my eyes!" And they seized her and slaughtered her, and mingled her blood with the blood of her father. And when the priests and the Levites saw that the Temple burned, they took their harps and their trumpets and leapt into the flames and were consumed. And when the virgins who wove the sacred curtains saw that the Temple burned, they, to escape impurity, leapt into the flames and were consumed. And when King Zedekiah saw that the Temple burned he went out to escape by the underground passage which leads to Jerusalem and wherethrough the water flows. But he became weary and his sons went on before him. Nebusaradon saw him, and seized him, with his two sons, and sent them to Nebuchadnezzar. . . . And Zedekiah said to the King of the Chaldæans: "Kill me first, that I shall not look on the blood of my children." But the sons spoke also, saying: "Kill us first, that we shall not look on the blood of our father." But the king slaughtered the sons; he tore out the eyes of the father, and threw them into the fire, and led Zedekiah to Babylon. And Zedekiah cried: "All ye children of men, come and see what Jeremiah prophesied for me, saying: 'Thou shalt go to Babylon and thou shalt die in Babylon, and thine eyes shall not see Babylon.' And I heeded not his words: and behold, I am in Babylon and mine eyes cannot see Babylon!"

Then the prophet went forth from Anathoth, to go toward Jerusalem. And he lifted up his eyes and saw the smoke of the Temple. And he said in his heart: "Perhaps the children of Israel have done penance; perhaps they offer sacrifice, for the smoke of their incense goes up toward heaven." And he drew near and went up on the wall, and he saw the stones falling into dust around the Temple. And he ran on, and began to cry: "By what roads have the sinners left? By what paths have the lost ones fled? I will go with them and be lost with them!" And he went on and found the path covered with blood and all the places filled with the blood of the slaughtered on every side. And he looked down, and he saw the footsteps of the little children who had been taken into exile,

and he bent down and kissed them. And when he came up with the exiles he embraced them and wept with them and he began to speak and said: "As I came up again to Jerusalem, I lifted up mine eyes and I saw a woman seated on the summit of a hill. Her raiment was black and her hair hung down, and she wept and lamented, waiting for one to comfort her. I came near her and spoke to her, saying: 'If thou art a woman, speak: if thou art a spirit, rise and begone.' And she answered me, saying: 'Dost thou not know me? I am she who had seven sons, and whose husband went away beyond the seas; and as I came up to this mountain to sacrifice, there came one and said: "Thy house has fallen, and thy seven sons are dead." And now I know not for whom to weep and for whom to tear my hair.' And I answered the woman, saying: 'Art thou better than mother Zion, which is become a pasturage for the beasts of the field?' And she said: 'I am thy mother, Zion; I am the mother of the seven sons, of whom it is written: She is withered, she who bore seven sons.' Then, speaking in the name of the Eternal, I said to her: 'The evil which has befallen thee is like the evil which befell Job: the sons and daughters of Job were taken away from him, and thy sons and daughters have been taken away from thee. I took away his gold and his silver, and I have taken away thy gold and thy silver: him I threw upon the dung-heap, and thee too I have cast upon a dung-heap. But as I prepared consolation for Job, so have I prepared consolation for thee; I doubled the sons and daughters of Job, and I will double thy sons and daughters: I rendered him double his gold and his silver, and thy gold and thy silver will I render thee double; I cleaned away from him the filth of the dung-heap, and I will clean away from thee the dust and the filth. And thy habitation, O Zion, which men of flesh and blood have built, and which men of flesh and blood have destroyed, I, the Eternal, will rebuild in the time to come, as it is written: He bringeth together the children of Israel. *Amen.*'" (*Psikta Rabbati,* Jeremiah.)

BAR KOCHBA AND THE SIEGE OF BETHAR

There were fourscore thousand pairs of trumpeters around Bethar, and each trumpeter commanded many soldiers. And Bar Kochba was there, and he had two hundred thousand men, each one of whom had cut off a finger, to show his hardihood. And the wise men sent a messenger to Bar Kochba, asking: "Till when wilt thou mutilate the men of Israel?" But he replied: "How then shall I put them to the proof?" Then the wise men answered: "Accept in thine army no man who cannot, while he rides his horse, tear out by the roots a cedar of Lebanon." And Bar Kochba had two hundred thousand men of each kind. And when he went out to war he said to God: "Lord of the Universe, be Thou neither against us nor for us."

Three years and a half Hadrian laid siege to Bethar. And Rabbi Eleazar of Modaim sat in sackcloth in ashes, praying, every day: "Lord of the worlds, enter Thou not into judgment to-day, enter Thou not into judgment to-day." Then Hadrian would have given up the siege, but there was a certain Samaritan who said to him: "Go not hence: for I see a way to give the city into thy hands." Then he entered into the city by the canal, and found Rabbi Eleazar, and went to him, and made as if he whispered something in his ear. And he was seen by men of the city, and they brought him before Bar Kochba, who said: "What didst thou say to him and what did he answer thee?" And the Samaritan answered: "If I tell thee, King Hadrian will slay me: and if I tell thee not, thou wilt slay me. I would rather the King slew me than thou. Rabbi Eleazar told me that he would give up the city." Then Bar Kochba went before Rabbi Eleazar of Modaim and said: "What said the Samaritan unto thee?" And Rabbi Eleazar answered: "Nothing." "And what didst thou say unto the Samaritan?" And Rabbi Eleazar answered: "Nothing." Then Bar Kochba struck Rabbi Eleazar with his foot,

and killed him. Then a divine Voice was heard, saying: "Thou hast slain Rabbi Eleazar of Modaim, the right hand of Israel, the eye of Israel. Therefore thy hand shall wither and thine eye shall be extinguished." And Bethar fell and Bar Kochba was slain.

The head of Bar Kochba was brought to Hadrian. "Who slew this man?" he asked. "I slew him," said the Samaritan. "Show me his body." They showed him the body and it was encircled by a serpent. And Hadrian said: "If God had not slain him, who would have slain him?"

And they advanced into the city and slaughtered the inhabitants, and their horses marched in blood up to the nostrils. . . . (*Taanith,* Tal. Jer.)

THE EGYPTIANS BEFORE ALEXANDER

The Egyptians once came before Alexander of Macedon, to complain against the children of Israel, saying: "See, it is written: And the Lord gave the people favour in the eyes of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them such things as they required. And they spoiled the Egyptians. [Exodus 12: 26.] And now let the Children of Israel render us again the gold and the silver which they took from our ancestors." Then Gebia Ben Pesisa said to the sages: "Let me go up to plead our cause before Alexander. If I am vanquished, you will say: 'You have vanquished only an idiot among us.' If I am victorious you will say: 'The Torah of our Master, Moses, was victorious over you.' " The sages gave their consent, and Gebia went up to plead against the Egyptians. He asked them: "From what sources will you take your arguments?" They answered: "From the Torah." And Gebia said: "I will take mine from the same source. It is written: The children of Israel dwelt in Egypt four hundred and thirty years. Begin then by rendering to the Children of Israel the hire of six hundred thousand Hebrews who laboured four

hundred and thirty years." "Answer him," said Alexander. They pleaded: "Give us three days." They were given three days, but answer they found none. (*Sanhedrin.*)

THE VOYAGES OF ALEXANDER

Alexander said to his sages: "I will go into Africa." They answered: "Thou canst not, for dark mountains lie between us and Africa." "I must go, notwithstanding; I ask you, what must I do?" They answered: "Bring asses from Lybia, which know their way in the dark; take with thee a cord, and where the shadows begin tie one end of the cord, and hold the other end in thy hand, so thou wilt find the way to return." He did this and went forth, and he came to a city inhabited only by women. He would have made war on them, but they said: "If thou slayest us, they will say: He conquered women; if we slay thee, they will say: What a king this was, women slew him!" Then he said: "Bring me bread." They brought him a loaf of gold, on a table of gold. He asked them: "Can I eat gold?" They answered: "If it was bread thou didst need, was there none in thy kingdom, that thou hadst need to set out to so far a place?" He went thence, having written on the gate of their city: "I, Alexander, was a madman, having come to Africa to be taught by women."

Further on he rested himself on the bank of a river; he ate bread and had in his hand little salted fish. When the fish were washed in the water of the river they gave forth an excellent odour. Alexander therefore understood that the river came out of Paradise. He went up the river till he came to the gates of Eden. There he lifted up his voice, and cried: "Open the door!" But a voice answered him: "These are the gates of the Eternal. None but the just shall pass." "I am a great King," said Alexander. "Give me something to take away with me." A skull was thrown to him. He took the skull and placed it in the cup of a balance, and placed all his gold and all his silver in the other cup; but the skull

weighed it down. He asked the rabbis: "What does this signify?" They answered: "It is the eye, the eye of flesh and blood, which sees gold and silver and is never sated." "How shall I know that this is so?" "Take a pinch of dust and cover the eye, and the cup of the balance will rise. For it is written: Hell and the abyss are insatiable, and the eye of man is never sated." (*Tamid.*)

PARADISE

There are two diamond gates to the Garden of Eden, and sixty-six myriads of angels attendant; and the glory of these gates is like the glory of the firmament. And when one of the just comes before the gates, his grave-clothes are removed from him, and they put on him eight robes of clouds of glory; they put on his head two crowns, one of pearls and precious stones and one of gold of Parvaim; they put eight branches of myrtle in his hand, and they praise him, saying: "Go and eat thy bread in joy"; and they bring him into a place where eight rivers flow, amid eight hundred perfumes of roses and myrtle. For each of the just there is a canopy, from under which four rivers flow out, one of milk, one of wine, one of honey, one of nard. There is a golden vine with thirty pearls above each canopy. And sixty angels stand before him, saying: "Go, eat thy honey in joy, for thou wast given to the study of the Torah, which is like honey; and drink the wine that was made with the grapes of the first six days of the Creation, for thou wast given to the study of the Torah, which is like wine. . . ."

For them there is no night, for it is written: "The light of the just is like the light of the Divine Splendour." And the just are forever renewed in three ages. In the first age, they become children, and pass into the division of children, tasting all the joys of childhood; in the second age, they become young men, and pass into the division of young men, tasting all the joys of manhood; in the third age they become old

men, and pass into the division of old men, tasting all the joys of old age.

In each of the corners of the Garden of Eden there are ninety myriads of perfumes of trees, and the smallest of them is more desirable than all the perfumes of earthly trees. And in each corner there are ninety myriads of attendant angels, singing with pleasant voices. And the Tree of Life stands in the midst, and its leafage covers all of the Garden of Eden, and the Tree has five hundred thousand flavours, of which no two resemble each other. And above the Tree there is a cloud of glory, and the wind strikes the cloud from the four corners of heaven, and its odours go forth from one end of the world to the other. And underneath the Tree are seated the pupils of the sages, who expound the Torah; and above each there is a canopy, one woven of stars, one woven of sun and moon, and between canopy and canopy there is a hedge of clouds of glory. (*Yalkut,* Genesis 2.)

ELIJAH AND THE DAYS OF THE MESSIAH

When the Holy One, blessed be He, will deliver Israel, three days before the coming of the Messiah, Elijah will come and stand on the mountains of Israel, and weep and say over them the words of lamentation: "Mountains of Israel, till when will ye stand in a land desolate and deserted?" His voice will be heard from one end of the world to the other. Then he will say to the mountains: "Peace cometh on earth, peace cometh on earth," for it is written: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings, or bringeth a message of peace." And the wicked will hear and say unto each other: "Peace cometh, peace cometh!"

On the second day Elijah will return, and stand on the mountains of Israel and say: "Goodness cometh on earth, goodness cometh on earth," for it is written: "Proclaim goodness!" And on the third day he will come again and stand on the mountains of Israel and say: "The world's deliverance

cometh, the world's deliverance cometh," for it is written: "He maketh the deliverance to be heard."

And when the wicked see this, they will say unto Zion: "Thy God reigneth." (*Yalkut,* Isaiah 52: 7.)

THE MESSIAH AND THE LIGHT

"And God saw the light, that it was good." These words teach us that the Holy One, blessed be He, foresaw the days and deeds of the Messiah from before the time of the creation of the world; and He hid the Messiah and his days under His throne of glory.

And Satan came before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: "Lord of the Universe, for whom is the light hidden under Thy throne of glory?" And God answered: "For him who is destined to make thee turn again, thy countenance shamed." Satan said: "Lord of the Universe, let me see him." "See." And when Satan had seen he trembled and fell upon his face and said: "Surely it is the Messiah, who is destined to bring me down to Hell, with all the nations, for it is written: He swalloweth the dead for eternity, and God, the Eternal, wipeth away the tears of all that mourn."

Then the nations said before God: "Lord of the Universe, who is he into whose hands we shall fall, what is his name and his quality?" And the Holy One, blessed be He, answered: "Ephraim, Messiah of My justice, is his name; he will raise himself up and will raise up his days; and he will light the eyes of Israel, and no nation and no tongue will be able to stand before him. . . ."

And the Holy One, blessed be He, began to make his covenant with the Messiah, saying: "Those that are hidden shall place thee by their sins under a yoke of iron, and stifle thy breath, and because of their sins thy tongue shall cleave to the roof of thy mouth. Is it thy will to bear with these things?" And the Messiah answered before God, saying: "Lord of the Universe, I will take these things upon me in

joy, if only none in Israel will be lost and all will be saved in my days: not only those that are living in my days, but those that are hidden in the earth, and not only those that have died in my days, but all the dead that have died from the days of Adam until my days, and not only those that have died after having lived, but those that were dead at birth, and also those that Thou wast of a mind to create and didst not create. Let them all be saved in my days: and if this be so, I will accept all."

It is said: The week of the coming of the Messiah rods of iron will be brought and put on his neck, till he is bowed down; and he will weep and cry out, and his voice will mount to heaven, saying: "Lord of the Universe, what is my strength, what is my breath, what is my soul, what are my limbs? Am I not flesh and blood?" And the Holy One, blessed be He, will answer him: "Ephraim, Messiah of My justice, these things thou didst take upon thyself since the six days of the Creation. And now thy pain is like My pain. For since the day when Nebuchadnezzar the wicked destroyed My Sanctuary and burned My Palace, since the day when I exiled my children among the nations, since that day I swear, by thy life and by My head, I have not sat upon My throne. And if thou believest not, see the dew which is upon My head, for it is written: 'My head is filled with dew.'" In that hour the Messiah will say before God: "Lord of the world, now my soul is calmed: that which sufficeth for the Master sufficeth for the servant." (*Yalkut,* Isaiah 60: 1.)

THE RABBINIC EPOCH

The Rabbinic Epoch

In the eighth and ninth centuries the Jewish Academies of Babylonia are still in full vigor, and preserve the Talmudic tradition in the face of the Karaite attack. But after the tenth century Jewish culture, which till then had been concentrated first in Palestine, then in Alexandria, and then in Babylonia, spreads throughout Europe and all of northern Africa. The rabbis found academies which rise and fall with the waves of prosperity and persecution. The Jews in contact with the Arabs renew their sacred and profane poetry, which finds in Spain, during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, its classic form. They rediscover Greek thought among the Arabs, and in turn transmit this to the Christian world. Their philosophers again seek to reconcile the Bible with Aristotle or Plato, passing from the traditionalism of Judah Halevi to the rationalism of Maimonides, and ending with the mysticism of the Kaballah. Meanwhile, as the Jewish spirit is lost in the great Cartesian movement with Spinoza, the true founder of modern exegesis, the larger part of the Jewish communities, sundered more and more from Christian society, enter into a period of complete decadence during the first half of the eighteenth century; orthodoxy degenerates into formalism, Talmudism into quibbling and mysticism into superstition. Then, with Mendelssohn and Wessely, a new spirit is born and develops.

CHRONOLOGY

A.D.

797. Isaac the Jew goes with an embassy sent by Charlemagne to Haroun al Raschid.

950. Moses ben Enoch founds the Yeshivah of Cordova. Chasdai ibn Shaprut minister of Abdul Rahman, Sultan of Cordova.

1000-1200. Gershom founds the Yeshivah of Mainz. Raschi presides at the Yeshivah of Troyes and Abraham ibn Daud at the Yeshivah of Narbonne.

1090. The Emperor Henry IV guarantees the life and property of the Jews of Spire to Judah Kalonymos.

1096. The First Crusade, accompanied by numerous massacres of the Jews.
1144. First ritual murder accusation (William of Norwich).
1146. Second Crusade. Massacres of Jews in France and Germany.
1181. Philip Augustus closes the Yeshivah of Paris.
1211. The French and English rabbis migrate to Palestine.
1232. Judah ben Mari ben Anatoli pensioned off by the Emperor Frederick II to translate the Greek philosophers.
1254. After being exiled and recalled several times the Jews are banished from France by Louis IX.
1274. Pope Gregory X denies ritual murder in a bull.
1290. The Jews expelled from England.
1305. Solomon ben Adreth presides at the Yeshivah of Barcelona.
1334. Casimir III of Poland accords the Jews the *Privilegium Fredericanum.*
1391. First massacres of Jews in Castile and Aragon.
1404. Marranos (converted Jews practising Judaism in secret) arrive in Holland.
1450. J. Colon presides at the Yeshivah of Pavia.
1481-82. The Inquisition against marranos established in Castile and Aragon. Torquemada.
1492. Thanks to the protection and the subsidies of the marrano Louis of Santagel, farmer of the royal taxes under Ferdinand the Catholic, Christopher Columbus fits out three ships and discovers America, having several Jews and marranos on board. The Jews expelled from Spain the same year.
1500. Joseph Polak presides at the Yeshivah of Cracow.
1503. The Jewish apostate Pfefferkorn attacks the Talmud, which is defended by the Catholic Reuchlin.
1517. Palestine becomes Turkish.
1530. Charles V grants Joselmann extension of the privileges of the Jews of Alsace.
1532-44. Luther's pamphlets for and against the Jews.
1567. Joseph Nasi is made Duke of Naxos.
1586. The Kabbalist Luria claims to be the Messiah. The Jews of Poland established the Synod of the Four Provinces.
1600. Samuel Pallach ambassador of the Sultan of Morocco to Amsterdam.

1642. Isaac Aboab and 600 Jews of Amsterdam established at Pernambuco.
1648. First persecutions of the Jews of Poland. The Cossacks and Chmelnitzki.
1657. Menassah ben Israel obtains from Cromwell the right of Jews to settle in England.
1665. Sabbatai Zevi proclaimed the Messiah in Smyrna.
1703. Jonas Aron settles in Philadelphia.
1750. Frederick the Great accords general privileges to the Jews of Prussia.
1753. English Parliament authorizes the naturalization of Jews.
1772. Gustave III authorizes the Jews to settle in Stockholm and Göteborg.
1782. Joseph II, Emperor of Austria, publishes an edict of tolerance in favour of the Jews.
1784. Louis XVI abolishes the body tax which weighed on the Jews of Alsace.
1789. The Jews of the Three Bishoprics of Alsace-Lorraine empower Berr Berr to plead their cause before the French *Assemblée Nationale.*

Chapter I

HISTORY AND LEGEND

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE JEWS

In the year 4570, which is the year 810, the Christians and the Moors warred on each other, and the time was one of affliction for Jacob. A concourse of Israelites fled from Germany into Spain and England, flying before the sword, and many communities which were slow in flying sanctified by their death the God of Israel, for they refused to apostatize; not a single Jew who remained in Germany escaped death, and the mother was crushed upon her children in that day of wrath. But God pitied the fugitives who had escaped death, and he sent the Emperor Charlemagne, King of France, whom the peoples obeyed. Charlemagne brought from Rome Rabbi Kalonymos, of Lucques, who led the survivors back to Germany, and assembled again the dispersed of Judah. And Charlemagne made an alliance with them. Then they established schools in Germany to teach the law of God, as in former times, and Rabbi Kalonymos was their head: remember it, O God, in their favour. In Italy too the Jews drained the cup of bitterness; but Charlemagne came to their help. Remember it, O God, in his favour, and sustain their cause. (Joseph Ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears.*)

THE KINGDOM OF THE KHAZARS

I. *The Letter of Chasdai ibn Chaprut to the King of the Khazars* (*Cir.* 958)

The country in which we live is called in the Holy Tongue *Sefared* and in the tongue of the Arabs, who possess this

country, Andalusia. The capital of the kingdom is called Cordova, and the name of the King is Abd-el-Rahman, son of Mahommed, son of Heschem, son of Abd-el-Rahman. . . . He has gathered a great treasure of silver, gold and other precious things, and has assembled an army the like of which no other prince has assembled. Every year the condition of the treasury is submitted to me, amounting to hundreds of thousands of gold pieces, drawn mostly from the merchants who come hither from the various islands and countries: in regard to the treasury nothing is done except through me, by my advice and according to my decision. I give thanks to the mercy of God which has conferred these benefits upon me. . . . The princes of the earth, who know the power and the magnificence of my master, send him gifts of objects which are rare and precious, to conciliate him and win his good will. Among them are the King of Ashkenaz (Germany), the King of the Gabellians who are Slavs, the Emperor of Constantinople and others. . . . I questioned all the ambassadors touching the fate of our Jewish brothers scattered throughout the exile, asking them if they had heard anything concerning those of them who languished in eternal slavery; but none could satisfy me, until the messengers from Khorazan, merchants, brought me reports of a state belonging to the Jews, the land of the Khazars. Then I humbled myself, adoring the God of heaven, and I sought around me a faithful messenger, to send him to your country that I might learn the whole truth regarding the happy condition of the king my master as well as his subjects, our brothers. . . . He that proves the heart of man knows that I have not done this in order to be honoured, but solely to know the truth, to discover whether the exiled Israelites have somewhere a state or kingdom free from all foreign dominion and tribute; for, if it be so, I, renouncing all my honours and dignities, and leaving my family, will cross mountains and hills, and will go over earth and ocean, till I come to the place where lives the king my master, that I may see his greatness and his splendour, the glory of his

ministers, the peace and prosperity of the remnant of Israel; when I see this my eyes will be illumined, my loins will rejoice and my lips will praise God, Whose infinite goodness is not withdrawn from the afflicted. I therefore ask Your Majesty to bethink him of the eager desires of his servant, and notwithstanding the great distance to command his private scribes to send an affirmative answer to his servant, that I might know all concerning their condition, and that I might learn how Judaism was brought into your country. . . . (Chasdai ibn Chaprut, in Carmoly, *Travels in the Holy Land.*)

II. *Reply of the King of the Khazars*

. . . We are of the posterity of Japhet and the descendants of his son Togarma. We read in the genealogic books of our forefathers that Togarma had ten sons; we are the issue of Khozar, the seventh. It is set down in our chronicles that from his days onward our ancestors had to fight against peoples more numerous and more powerful than they. . . . Some centuries later there came a descendant of Khozar, King Bulan, a wise man and God-fearing, who drove away the soothsayers, and purified the country of idolatry. . . . The Kings of Edom [Christians] and of Ishmael [Mohammedans] sent their ambassadors to him with great treasures, and also sent their learned men to convert them to their religions. But the King, in his wisdom, also sent for a learned Israelite, well versed in all matters; and he then had them as it were compete, so that each one expounded with fire the principles of his own religion and sought to refute the arguments of his antagonists. . . . Then the King said to the monk: "Of the two religions, that of the Israelite and that of the Ishmaelite, which is to be preferred?" The priest replied: "That of the Israelite." Then he asked the Cadi: "Between the faith of the Israelite and the faith of the Edomite, which is to be preferred?" The Cadi replied: "The religion of the Israelite is much to be preferred to the religion of the Nazarenes." To this the Prince answered: "You both acknowledge that the faith of the

Israelites is the wiser and the better; I therefore choose that religion, the religion of Abraham." From that time on God always helped him and strengthened him, and he and his people were all circumcized. He then sent for the wise men of Israel, who expounded before him the law and the precepts. From that time on we have followed this religion: God be praised for it eternally. . . . (*Ibid.*)

THE NEW SCHOOLS

After the death of Hiskia, who was Head of the Academy and Prince of the Exile, the Academies and Gaons ceased to exist. But even before that time [about the year 960] the Holy One, Blessed be He, had decreed the suspension of the subsidies which were being sent to the Academies from Spain, from Magreb, from Africa, from Egypt and from Palestine. The thing came to pass as follows. There came from the city of Cordova a captain by the name of Ibn Damahin, whom Abd-el-Rahman, the Arab King of Spain, had placed at the head of a fleet. This commander of mighty ships went forth to conquer the ships of the Christians and to harass the cities on the coast. They went as far as the coast of Palestine, went round the islands of the Greek Archipelago, and there encountered a ship which was carrying four of our sages from the city of Bari to a city called Safsatin. These sages were travelling for the purpose of collecting funds for the Academies. Ibn Damahin captured the ship and made the sages prisoners. One of them was Rabbi Shushiel, son of Rabbi Chananel; the second was Rabbi Moshe, father of Rabbi Enoch (he was taken prisoner together with his wife and his son Enoch, who was then a young boy); the third was Rabbi Shemariah, son of Rabbi Elkanan; as to the fourth, I do not know his name. As the captain sought to violate the wife of Rabbi Moshe, for she was a very beautiful woman, she cried out to her husband in the sacred tongue, and asked him if those who are drowned will wake with the other dead on the

day of the resurrection. He replied: "The Lord said: I will bring them again from Bashan, from the depths of the sea will I bring them again." When she heard that she would be resurrected, she leapt into the sea and was drowned.

These sages spoke not concerning themselves and their learning. The Captain sold Rabbi Shemariah as a slave in Alexandria, Egypt; thence Rabbi Shemariah went to Cairo and founded a school there. Rabbi Shushiel was sold on the coast of Africa; and he made his way to the city of Kairouan, which was then the mightiest Arab city of the Maghreb. Rabbi Shushiel became the head of a school. . . . Then the captain returned to Cordova, where he sold Rabbi Moshe and his son Enoch. They were bought into liberty by the people of Cordova, who knew not the great learning of these captives.

There was in Cordova a Synagogue called the Synagogue of the House of Study, and in it there was a judge by the name of Rabbi Nathan, who was a man of great piety. Nevertheless, those of Spain were not deeply versed in the words of our teachers, whose memory be blessed. However, with the little learning they commanded, they carried on discussions and interpreted the Law. One day Rabbi Nathan, the judge, was interpreting the law concerning the lustrations which are required for every sprinkling, concerning which it is spoken in the Tractate of the Talmud, Yoma, and they were not able to offer an explanation. Then Rabbi Moshe, who, as beadle, was seated in a corner, rose and said: "Master, that would make too many lustrations." When the master and the pupils heard these words, they were astonished and they asked Rabbi Moshe to explain the law; and he explained the law in the correct way. Then they asked him to explain other difficulties, and they continued their questions, all of which he answered out of the abundance of his learning. There stood, outside the house of study, a number of plaintiffs who were not permitted to enter until the pupils had ended their lesson. On that day Rabbi Nathan, the judge, went out, and the plaintiffs followed him, but he said: "I am no

longer the judge; this man, who is dressed in sackcloth and who is a stranger, he is my teacher and my master, and I am his pupil from to-day on. And now, name him judge of the community of Cordova." They did so. And the community set aside for him a generous recompense, and gave him precious raiment and a carriage. The Captain, learning of this, desired to annul his sale, but the King would not permit it, for he was greatly pleased to learn that the Jews of his Kingdom were no longer dependent on the people of Babylon. (Abraham ibn Daud, "Book of the Tradition," in Neubauer, *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, I.)

THE FIRST CRUSADE (1096)

In the reign of Philip, son of Henry, King of France, Peter the Hermit went to Jerusalem, saw the sufferings of the Christians who lived there and, on his return, related it to his brothers; this was in the year 4856, which is the year 1096. The Christian kings then offered to go and conquer Judah and Jerusalem; from all countries there gathered an enormous concourse of men and women who would go with them, and with this year began a time of pitiless desolation for the Israelites in Christian countries, wherever they were scattered; and the times were such that they became sick of life; terrible and numberless were the afflictions which they bore, for there rose against them the multitude of France and of Germany which had gathered for the Crusade, an evil-faced multitude, which neither spared the aged nor took pity on children. Their cry was: "Let us avenge our Saviour on the Jews, let us wipe them out from among the peoples, unless they accept another god and become Christians like ourselves; and only when this is accomplished will we set out." When the Jews of Germany heard this, their hearts melted in them and became like water, and pain and trembling seized them as with a woman in labour; they lifted their eyes to heaven, set aside fast days and cried to the Eternal in their misery, but the Eternal had

hidden himself behind clouds which no prayer could pierce. On the twenty-third day of the month the crusaders descended like night wolves against the holy community of Worms, and many of the members took refuge in the house of the Bishop for fear of disaster. The attackers rushed into the houses and put to the sword whomsoever they found, sparing neither man nor woman; they sacked the houses, broke down the towers, and stretched out their hands to the plunder, and there was none to save from them in that day of divine wrath. They threw down the scrolls of the law, tore them to pieces and trampled them underfoot, and they shouted in the house of God as on a day of celebration, devouring Israel, and leaving alive but a small remnant, whom they forced to deny their God, the God of Israel, but who, when the fury was once passed, returned again to the God of their fathers. As to the slaughtered, they sanctified the Holy One of Israel in the open light, and chose death rather than life that they might not become faithless to God. Many immolated themselves, and this one slew his brother, or his friend, his beloved wife, his sons and daughters: tender mothers slaughtered with firm hand and heart their little children, and the little ones pronounced the Unity of God as they gave up their souls on the bosoms of their mothers. When the holy community of Mayence learned the dreadful news, they fled to the palace of the Bishop, thinking to find there a refuge from death. But the enemy rose against them on the third day of the month of Sivan, and put them to the sword. Age was not spared in that day of terror. When the enemy found them, they cried with one voice, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One," and stretched out their hands against those that were the delight of their eyes, and slew their wives and their little ones. And in that day of horror the wives too dedicated themselves to death. Behold the warriors shout without and the angels of peace weep bitterly for this holy community, given over to the fierce destroyer. . . . And for this I beat my bosom and weep aloud, and I run from place

to place, naked and despoiled, because of the thirteen hundred souls who became a booty and a prey in that day of horror. Will this suffice for thine anger, O God of Israel? Sixty poor wretches hid themselves in the treasury, and the Bishop sent them out among the villages, that they might save themselves, but the enemy pursued them and put them to the sword. Whithersoever they fled from death, the very stones cried out to betray them, for people were given freedom on that day to sack and destroy. Two men escaped death—they were baptized by violence: the name of one was Uri, of the other Ben David. Ben David was the chief of the community, and his two daughters were with him. All of them turned back again to the God of their fathers: and Isaac Ben David slew his two daughters during the festival of Weeks, and, having set fire to his house, made a burnt offering to the Lord; and he and his friend Uri went to the synagogue and stood before the tabernacle, and they died there as the flames ascended, and their souls mounted to heaven. My heart, my heart is moved for those that have died, and my soul will not be comforted for those that died by fire. Almighty God, protect their souls, judge their cause, avenge the slaughter of Thy servants, as it is written: "But when I will make them innocent of all their sins, I shall not make them innocent of the blood which they have shed, and the Eternal shall inhabit Zion." (Joseph Ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears.*)

DAVID EL RUI

In the year 4923, which is the year 1163, there was in the city of Amadia, which is on Mount Haphton, Persia, a Jew by the name of David el Rui. There were in the city of Amadia about a thousand heads of Jewish families; the language they spoke was Syriac, and they had to pay the king an annual tax of one gold-piece for every male child above the age of fifteen. This David el Rui had studied in

Bagdad (which is in Babylonia) under Rabbi Jacob, and had acquired considerable knowledge of the six Talmudic treatises, of science and of magic. Having thus become exceedingly proud, he gathered together a large number of the Jews who were established on Mount Hephton, in order to go up and fight against Jerusalem, and he said to the assembled Jews: "I am the Messiah." Many believed in him, and said: "Verily, he is our Messiah," and they rose in revolt against the King of Persia, and put a number of people to the sword. The king, seeing he could not overcome him, began to negotiate with David, and David came to him confidently. He told the king concerning his visions, but having said: "I am the anointed of the Lord, honour me this day," the king became angry against him and threw him into prison, in the city of Daghestan, which is on the river Gozan; and he was put in irons.

But at the end of three days, while the king was consulting with his princes and servants with regard to the revolted Jews, David suddenly entered: for, with the aid of his science, he had broken through doors of bronze. The king and his counsellors were greatly amazed, and the king asked him: "Who brought you hither?" And David replied: "I have come with the aid of my knowledge, for I fear neither you nor your servants." And when the king ordered his officers to seize him, they asked: "Where is he?" David spoke to them without being seen, and they were greatly amazed. Then David went again to the palace and spoke again with the king as follows: "You cannot conquer me, and with your own eyes you shall see me go my own way." And going forth, he took his turban off his head, spread it on the river Gozan, and crossed the river thereon while king and counsellors watched in terror. Then the king ordered many men to pursue him in boats, but they could not catch him. That same day, making use of the Tetragrammaton, or Forbidden Name, he covered the distance of a ten-day journey; he told his brothers in Amadia all that had happened to him, and they were

greatly moved. Then the king sent word to the Commander of the Faithful, the Khalif of Bagdad, saying: "Speak to the Prince of the Exile and to the heads of the Jewish congregation, bidding them turn back David from his wicked ways, or I shall put them to death." This was a troubled time for the house of Jacob: the Jews of Persia were greatly terrified, and they were seized with trembling, like a woman in childbirth. And they wrote to David, saying: "Such deeds should be far from you, for the days of the deliverance are not yet come; we have not seen the signs, and men will not be conquered by force." They sent out Zaccai, the Prince of the Exile, and Rabbi Joseph Barhan, bearing this letter, but David would not listen to them, and it was a time of anguish and affliction. They strengthened themselves by fasting and implored God, who received their prayer. And God raised up the Turkish prince, Zain Aldin, who was at that time carrying his tribute to the king. This prince called the father of David el Rui, and said to him: "I will give you ten pieces of gold if you will kill David or deliver him to me." And this man, seeing how the Jews of Persia were endangered, smote David to the heart while he slept at night. Then the Jews of Persia came out of the darkness of their plight, and gave thanks to the Lord; and the king of Persia rejoiced in his heart . . . and the Jews gave the man a hundred pieces of gold, for they were many and wealthy, and the anger of the king was pacified. (Joseph Ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears.*)

THE PLAGUE IN ENGLAND

After a certain time there was a pestilence in England, and many persons died of it every day. . . . The king and the nobles assembled. "Why," they asked, "and in what manner, have these afflictions come upon us?" The nobles replied: "It is because of the crimes of the Jews that this has come to pass." Then they forced the Jews to be baptized by violence. But the tribulations and misfortunes of England having

doubled and pest and famine and war having decimated the country . . . the king had two tents put up on the shores of the sea; in one of these he put the Law of Moses, and in the other the cross; then a platform was raised for the king. Then they brought the converted Jews, and the king said to them, in a friendly voice: "You know well that it was in order to lighten our anguish that I have turned you from your God by violence, but I see now that our afflictions have been doubled, and that our anguish has been drawn like a tight noose about our necks, because of what was determined against you; but now I leave you to choose, as heretofore, what you desire. Know that in one tent on the seashore there is the Law of Moses, and in the other there is the new law; let each one of you choose that which is better in his sight, for he shall have to observe it for ever thereafter." All the Jews then ran toward the Law of Moses, they and their wives and their children, but they could only enter the tent one by one, for a trick had been played. And so it was that as they came in one by one they were slaughtered, and were thrown into the sea without any of the others knowing. And many of our brothers were thus slain on that day of terror, and became food for the fishes of the sea and for the birds of the air. (Joseph Ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears.*)

THE CHARGE OF RITUAL MURDER

In the time of the just king, Alphonso the Great [13th century], it was told to the judges that, on the eve of Easter, a Christian had entered a Jewish house, and he had been heard to cry for help and had never been seen again. A search was made in the house of the Jew, but without any result. The king asked the accusers: "Why did you not go to the help of the Christian?" They answered: "We should have had to break in the door and were afraid of committing a crime." "But," the Jew said, "the door of my house has been broken these ten days, in order to capture a slave who had taken

refuge in my house, and it is still broken." The king did not believe that the crime had taken place. "This Jew," he said, "is an old man. He has not even strength enough to kill a louse." But the accusers held firm and brought false witnesses who even gave the name of the Christian. "His name," they said, "was Pedro Guzman, the husband of Beatrice, the priest's servant." And they also gave his description; small in build, red hair, forked beard, and one-eyed. The Jew was put to the torture; he confessed, and was condemned to be executed. When the sentence was being cried through the town, the bishop was passing through to go to the king. "What is this I hear?" he said. "The sentence says that Pedro Guzman was killed by the Jew on January 1st, and only yesterday I saw this Guzman in a neighbouring village of the town, and he will be here to-day or to-morrow." "Why then," asked the king, "did the Jew confess?" "This was a confession extracted by torture," said the bishop, "and words spoken under torture are as false as the deeds of princes." They began to search for Guzman, and he was led before the king, who was overjoyed to know the truth, and praised God and thanked the bishop. "Your majesty may now see," said the bishop, "that words extorted by torture are false." (Solomon ibn Verga, *The Scourge of Judah.*)

THE SPANISH EXPULSION

Since the time of Brother Vincent, the New Christians [converted Jews] had multiplied in Spain; they had made alliances with the greatest families in the country and had acquired a mighty influence. On the other hand, the Jews had also multiplied greatly until the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. These two princes appointed inquisitors over the New Christians to find out whether they were not relapsing into their former ways, and they were made objects of scorn and contempt, and many of them were burned in those days. . . . These two princes, seeing that multitudes of Jews were returning to the House

of Israel, drove the Jews from their country, so that the New Christians would not go in their ways, as many had done until then. All the hosts of the Lord, the exiles of Jerusalem in Spain, left this accursed country in the fifth month of the year 5252, which is the year 1492, and were scattered to the four corners of the earth. From Carthaginia there went forth, on the 16th day of Ab, sixteen large ships laden with human cattle, and this took place in all the other provinces. The Jews went whither the winds carried them, to Africa, to Asia, to Greece and to Turkey, in which countries they live to this day. And they suffered greatly and many tribulations assailed them, and the Genoese sailors treated them with cruelty. Many of them died of despair on the journey: the Mussulmans disembowelled some of them to get the gold which they had swallowed to hide it, and others they threw into the waves; and there were others who were devoured by pestilence and by famine; and others the captains set down naked on desert islands, and others were sold as slaves in the mighty city of Genoa and the cities which owned her sovereignty. Among those who had embarked for Italy there was a cantor by the name of Joseph Cibbon, who had a son and several daughters, and one of his daughters awoke the love of the captain. The mother was informed of this, and preferring death to dishonour she threw her daughters into the sea and leapt after them. The sailors, seeing this, were seized with horror, and they put boats out and succeeded in rescuing one of them. The name of one of the sisters was Paloma, which means a dove: and her father lamented her, saying: "And they took the dove and threw her into the waves." There were many Jews who remained in Spain, not having the strength to flee, and there were some whose hearts were untouched by God, and many at this time apostatized. See, O God, against whom Thou hast stretched out thine hand! Shall a man eat his own offspring? For there were some who were put down on islands near Provence, and there was one Jew whose old father lay dying of hunger, and who went begging a

morsel of bread in this strange place, and no one would give it to him. Then this man went to sell his youngest son for a piece of bread, but when he returned he found only a dead body. He tore his raiment and went back to the baker to get his son, but the baker would not return him; and he uttered heart-rending cries and shed bitter tears, but there was none to help him. God, my God! All these miseries have befallen us, yet we have not forgotten Thee, nor have we betrayed our covenant. And now, O God, estrange thyself no longer from us, and deliver us soon, because it is for Thy sake we are slaughtered, and for Thy sake we are no better than sheep which are destined for the slaughter. Help us, God of our salvation, sustain our cause and save us for Thy Name's sake. (Joseph Ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears.*)

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE EXILE

By the fear of heaven and by the glory of God, I bear witness that the number of the children of Israel who were in Spain was three hundred thousand, in the year in which their splendour was despoiled; and the value of their belongings, in houses and in furnishings, and the abundance of their blessings was more than ten million gold ducats, a wealth which they had accumulated against the day of misfortune. And to-day, four years after the expulsion, everything has disappeared; of them all there remain some ten thousand men, women and children, in the various countries; and in the countries to which they have come, the wealth which they once possessed and brought with them from their native land, has utterly disappeared. (Isaac Abarbanel, Preface to the *Commentary on Daniel.*)

SOLOMON MOLKHO (DIED 1532)

There rose in Portugal a scion of a house of the Jews that had lived scattered in this land since the days of the persecu-

tion. While still young, he was one of the secretaries of the king; however, when he saw this David Reubani [one of the false messiahs of that time] his heart was touched by the Almighty, and he returned to the God of our fathers and was circumcized. At that time he knew nothing concerning the Law of God, but after his return God gave him the wisdom of Solomon; he became in a short while the most learned of men, and many admired him. He went later to Italy, and was courageous enough to discourse on the Law of our God before kings, and did not turn back through fear. He went to Turkey, and returned to Rome, and there conversed with Pope Clement, who was gracious to him despite all the theologians and gave him permission, written, and sealed with his name, to establish himself wheresoever he desired and openly to carry the name of Jew. He studied the Kaballah, and words of grace came from his lips, for the spirit of God found expression in him, and the divine word was ever on his tongue. From the depths of the Kaballah he had drawn marvellous words, and these he wrote on tablets and sent them to his friends in Salonika, who printed them. He preached publicly in Boulogne and in other cities; a multitude of persons pressed round him to drink of his wisdom and to try him by their riddles, but Solomon answered all their questions. . . . Later, he sought to arrange a controversy with the Emperor concerning matters of faith, and set out for Ratisbon, the Emperor being there; and he succeeded in getting word with the Emperor, but the Emperor remained firm, would not listen to him, and finally, being angered by him, threw him into prison. The Emperor leaving for Italy, Solomon was loaded with irons, and carried on a chariot in the imperial train, till he came to Mantua, and there again he was cast into a cell; and the Emperor having consulted the doctors, who decided that this man had deserved death, the order was given that Solomon be taken from prison and burned to death. And so one morning he was bound and gagged, and brought forth to the place of torture. The whole city was in tumult because of him, and when the logs were

already kindled, one of the imperial officers ordered the gag removed from his mouth, having something to say to him from the Emperor himself. This was done. "The Emperor sends me to you," he said, "to say that if you turn back from the evil of your way, he will be merciful to you, he will preserve your life and you shall live by him: but if you refuse your fate is irrevocably sealed." But Solomon neither rose nor moved, and replied like a saint and like an angel of the Lord: "My heart is heavy only for the time which I have passed in the Catholic religion: but now, do with me as you will, and may my soul return to the dwelling-place of the Father, as it was in my earliest years, for I was happiest then." At this the executioners, seized with rage, threw him on to the flaming logs, and offered him to the Lord as a burnt sacrifice which went up in smoke. And the Lord found the incense pure and received the stainless soul of Solomon into the garden of Eden, and there he became His disciple and His joy for all time. (Joseph Ha-Cohen, *The Vale of Tears.*)

THE JEWS AND COSSACKS IN POLAND

In the year 1648, fixed by that lying book, the Zohar, the Jews of Poland expected the coming of the Messiah and the time of redemption, when they would be in power, and, therefore, they were more reckless and careless than was their custom at other times. Bloody retribution was not long delayed, and struck the innocent with the guilty, perhaps the former more severely than the latter.

It proceeded from a man who understood how to make use of the increasing hatred of the Cossacks for his purposes, and who was regarded by his countrymen as their ideal. Bogdan Chmielnicki [Russian, Chmel], born about 1595, died 1657, before whom all Poland trembled for several years, gave Russia the first opportunity of interfering in the Polish republic, and was a frightful scourge for the Jews. Chmielnicki, brave in war and artful in the execution of his plans, impenetrable

in his schemes, at once cruel and hypocritical, had been vexed by the Jews, when he held the subordinate position of camp secretary [Pisar] of the Cossacks, subject to the house of Koniecpolski. . . . His remark to the Cossacks, "The Poles have delivered us as slaves to the cursed breed of Jews," was enough to excite them. Vengeance-breathing Zaporogians and booty-loving Tartars in a short time put the Polish troops to flight by successful manœuvres (May 18, 1648). Potocki, the lieutenant-general, and 8,000 Poles, according to agreement, were delivered to the Tartars. After the victory, the wild troops went eastward from the Dnieper, between Kiev and Pultava, plundering and murdering, especially the Jews who had not taken flight; the number of the murdered reached several thousand. Hundreds underwent baptism in the Greek Church, and pretended to be Christians, in order to save themselves. Fortunate were those who fell into captivity with the Tartars; they were transported to the Crimea, and ransomed by Turkish Jews. Four Jewish communities (Porobischa and others) of about 3,000 souls resolved to escape massacre by surrendering to the Tartars with all their property. They were well treated, and sold into Turkey, where they were ransomed in a brotherly manner by those of their own race. The Constantinople community sent a deputy to Holland to collect money from the rich communities for the ransom of captives.

Unfortunately for the Poles and Jews, King Vladislav, for whom Chmielnicki had shown some respect, was removed by death. During the interregnum of several months, from May to October, 1648, the usual Polish dissension occurred, which crippled every attempt at resistance. At first Chmielnicki drew back, apparently inclined to negotiate with the crown, but he gave his creatures full power to ravage the Polish provinces. Regular troops of murderers, called Haidamaks [the Tartar word for partisans], were formed under brutal leaders who cared not a straw for human life, and who revelled in the death-struggles of their Polish and Jewish foes.

In the name of religion they were urged by the Greek popes to murder Catholics and Jews. The commander of each troop had his own method of exercising cruelty. One had thongs slung round the necks of Catholic and Jewish women, by which they were dragged along; this he called "presenting them with a red ribbon." A few weeks after the first victory of the Cossacks, a troop under another of these chiefs advanced against the stronghold of Nemirov, where 6,000 Jews, inhabitants and fugitives from the neighbourhood, had assembled; they were in possession of the fortress, and closed the gates. But the Cossacks had an understanding with the Greek Christians in the town, and put on Polish uniforms in order to be taken for Poles. The Christian inhabitants urged the Jews to open the gates for their friends. They did so, and were suddenly attacked by the Cossacks and the inhabitants of the town, and almost entirely cut down amid frightful tortures (Siwan 20—June 10, 1648). . . .

Prince Vishnioviecki, the only heroic figure among the Poles at that time, a man of penetration, intrepid courage and strategic ability, defended the cause of the persecuted Jews with devoted zeal. He took the fugitives under the protecting wings of his small but brave force, with which he everywhere pursued the Cossack bands to destruction. But, because of his limited power, he could accomplish nothing of lasting import. Through petty jealousy, he was passed over at the election of the commander-in-chief against the Cossack insurrection, and instead of him three were chosen, of a character calculated to help on Chmielnicki to further victories.

Annoyed at the pitiful policy of the regent, the primate of Gnesen, Vishnioviecki followed his own course, but was compelled to retreat before the overpowering number of the roving troops and the Greek Catholic population in sympathy with them, and so destruction was brought on the Jews, who had reckoned on his heroic courage. In the fortress of Polonnoie, between Zaslav and Zytomir, 10,000 Jews, partly inhabitants, partly fugitives from the neighbourhood, are said to have

perished at the hand of the besieging Haidamaks and the traitorous inhabitants. (Ab 13—July 22.) (Graetz.)

SABBATHAI ZEVI (1626-1676) AND HIS FOLLOWERS

And it was spread throughout the world that Sabbathai Zevi was the holy Messiah, and Rabbi Nathan the prophet of the truth; and without sign or miracle nearly all Israel believed in them, and even those who were not among the circumcized —the Turks. . . . In Sh'vat our Master clothed himself in gold and royal raiment; and he went out of the house in the manner of a great emperor, having in one hand the Bible and in the other a royal sceptre; and there were about five hundred men following him, through the market-place and the main streets of the city of Smyrna, and they cried aloud, "Long live the King, our Master!" The Turks saw this, and heard the words, and said nothing, and fell before him, and bowed themselves to the earth; and they did nothing to the Jews, neither to their persons nor to their possessions. Then the gift of prophecy came to many men and women, at Smyrna, and Constantinople, and Aleppo and other places, and they witnessed that Sabbathai was the Messiah of the God of Jacob. There came upon them a deep sleep, and they fell to earth and were like dead, so that there remained no breath in them; and then, a little while later, the breath came out of them, and their lips did not move, and they said: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One. Blessed be the name of the glory of His Kingdom for ever and ever. . . . Our King, Sabbathai Zevi, has been crowned with a crown; from heaven a great ban is pronounced against all those who do not believe in him. . . . His Kingdom is the Kingdom of the two worlds. . . . Blessed are those to whom it has been granted to live in his days. Sing, ye just, sing and praise God, for He is good. . . . God is true, Moses is true, his Torah is true, and true is Sabbathai Zevi! . . ."

And when these things were heard in Italy and, above all,

in Venice, the greater part believed that God was remembering His people. And there was greater repentance in that city than it had ever seen before, and they sent a messenger to Constantinople to discover whether it were true that our deliverance had come. And the reply came that Sabbathai Zevi was indeed the true Savior, and that those that did not believe in him were like those that did not believe in God. . . . And in those days the whole world, east, west, north, south, was divided, class by class, group by group, and the news of our deliverance ran everywhere, and some believed, and some denied and some doubted. . . . (Baruch Marizo, *The Children of Israel in the Days of Mahmound IV*, passim.)

Chapter II

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT—EXEGESIS AND PHILOSOPHY

1. The Struggle Between Reason and Tradition

a. Rationalist Exegesis

THE BIBLE AND REASON

THE All-Wise purposed in this Book [the Pentateuch] to educate those beings which were gifted with reason and to fashion them for His service. Now there are three kinds of education, of which one is stronger than the others. The first, which is the weakest kind, consists in saying to the one to be educated: "Do this: do not do that," without making him understand the consequences of the command or the prohibition, whether he obey or refuse to obey. The second kind consists in giving, together with the command or prohibition, the consequences of the path chosen. Thus: "Do this, and you will be rewarded: do not do that, or you will be punished." This method is better than the former, for it awakens the idea of happiness or of misery resulting from the path of conduct chosen by the individual. The third kind of education, while it consists in giving command and prohibition, and in indicating the recompense or punishment that will follow, adds thereto the history of those people who have obeyed and were rewarded by salvation and of those people who disobeyed and were punished by misery. This method is more effective than the first two methods, for the reason that it adds as it were the test and experience to the commands, and, to point the lesson, adduces the value of personal testimony. And God has revealed, in this book which is dedicated to the education of His servants, the three methods which

we have described. He commands piety and prohibits sin; He announces the reward of good actions and the punishment of evil actions; and finally He gives the history of those who lived on earth before us,—the salvation of those who have been virtuous and the punishment of those who have been wicked. The divine Book therefore contains the three principal forms of education. . . .

But know furthermore, you who read this, that, despite its inestimable worth, despite its high place, and despite the beauty of its language, which light up the darkness and the mystery of its contents, the servants of God would do wrong to believe that outside of this Book there is nothing which would compel men to believe in the Eternal. Indeed, they are in duty bound to know that other proofs exist—to the number of two. The first, which precedes the Holy Script, is the proof furnished by reason, whereby it is realized that all beings, visible and invisible, have been created, that the Creator is eternal, having neither beginning nor end, that He is One, that He is unlike the created beings, and that these are unlike Him, that He is the All-Wise, who knows all things beforehand, the Creator who creates out of nothing whatsoever He desires, the All-Just, who imposes on none of His servants a burden too heavy to carry. . . . The second proof, which comes after the Pentateuch, is the tradition which has been handed down to us by the Prophets, showing the decisions which they took in accordance with events and the manner in which they observed those commandments which are not imposed upon us by reason alone, but which nevertheless can be imposed on man in conformity with the dictates of reason. (Saadia, *Commentary on the Pentateuch,* Preface.)

SATAN AND THE ANGELS ASSIMILATED TO MANKIND

"Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also before Him." [Job 1: 6.] I have explained that phrase, "sons of

God" as the friends or favourites of God, as in the following verses: "You are all children of the Eternal, your God," "Israel is my beloved son. . . ." As for Satan, he is in reality a man, as in the passage: "The Eternal raised before Solomon a *satan*—an adversary. . . ." Similarly, it is said of Joshua, son of Josadak, "And the *satan* (adversary) stood on his right to oppose him. . . ." (Saadia, *Commentary on Job* 1: 6.)

THE MIRACLE OF JOSHUA

"So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven and hasted not to go down about a whole day." [Joshua 10: 13.] Moses Ibn Gikatilla thinks that the movement of the spheres was not arrested, but only that the reverberations of the sun continued to give light, that they might see clearly. One day I said to Ibn Gikatilla: "Are not the reverberations of the sun an effect of which the sun is the cause?" "Yes," he answered. "If, then, the cause were to disappear, the effect would also disappear, of necessity." He replied: "The miracle consisted precisely therein, that the light remained after the sun had set." Then I asked him: "What compels you to believe this?" He answered: "I consider impossible the suspension of the movement of the spheres, which is eternal." (Judah ibn Balaam, *Commentary on the Book of Joshua.*)

AN EYE FOR AN EYE

[Exodus 22: 23.] According to the tradition of our teachers, this expression means the value of the eye, and not the eye itself. The proof thereof is found in a passage which precedes the one cited [Exodus 5: 19], according to which a man who wounds another bodily must pay for the time during which the wounded man is idle, and in addition the cost of the cure, and if the same wound is inflicted for punishment on the guilty man, how would he pay his victim, seeing he would himself be idle and would have to find payment for his

own cure? Furthermore, if the Law had intended that the man who tore out another man's eye should be punished in the same way, one would have to pause before the fact that some men are weaker than others, and perhaps the guilty man, being weaker, would die as a result of the punishment; but the Torah says: "An eye for an eye," and not: "A life for an eye. . . ." And finally, it is impossible to inflict on the second man exactly the same wound as was suffered by the first, for the first wound was not measured exactly, as to its length, depth and width. If, then, the ruling were to be observed: "As he did, so shall it be done to him," it would have to be the same, neither more nor less. . . . Reason, Scripture and tradition therefore teach us that the words "An eye for an eye" are not to be taken literally, but that what is meant is pecuniary reparation for the lost eye. (Chananel ben Shushiel, *Commentary on the Pentateuch.*)

LITERARY EXEGESIS: BIBLICAL HYPERBOLE

In the following passages in Holy Script there is hyperbole:

[Isaiah 51: 6.] "Lift up your eyes to the heavens and look upon the earth beneath: for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner: but my salvation shall be for ever and my righteousness shall not be abolished." Here the preposition *for* does not indicate either the moment of the action, or the proof, for all the philosophers are agreed that the celestial sphere, the sublime body, is imperishable, and that it can neither age nor decay.

[Job 29: 20.] "My glory was fresh in me, and my bow was renewed in my hand." The teachers of Biblical exegesis have explained this passage in the following manner: "However often I shoot with my bow it remains for ever new"; but this explanation is the last resort of one who cannot find another. In reality, it is a hyperbolic expression of happiness. . . . (Moses ibn Ezra, *On Poetry and Rhetoric.*)

HISTORICAL EXEGESIS: THE VISION OF DANIEL

The first beast, which resembled a lion, was Nebuchadnezzar; the "wings of the eagle which were torn out" are his two successors, Evil Merodach and Balthazzar. "A man's heart was given him" because the heart of the lion is bigger than the heart of a man. The following is the sense: after their king had been killed, the Chaldeans became again like other men and ceased to ravage like lions. [7: 5.] The second beast is the Persian empire, which destroyed the empire of the Chaldæans; it is this beast which, in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar [2: 3], is compared to silver. "It raised itself up on one side and had three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth," which signified that Cyrus and Darius destroyed three great cities on one side of the Chaldæan empire [7: 6]. The third beast is the Greek empire, which began with the empire of Alexander, and continues in the Roman empire, which endures till this day. In the dream of Nebuchadnezzar the Roman empire is compared to copper, and it is said of it that "it stretches over the whole earth." The four wings are the four kings who, as is known, divided the empire of Alexander [7: 7]. The fourth beast in the vision is the Arab empire, which, in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, is compared to iron; here, too, it is said that this beast has teeth of iron. The ten horns signify that the Arab empire will stretch over the greater part of the known world. These ten horns are: the kingdoms of Khorasan, Ispahan, Yemen (Sheba), Mecca, Egypt, Africa, the kingdom of the Arabs who live in tents in the east and west, the kingdoms of the Philistines (which means the Almoravides), the Berbers, who are the sons of Ham, with white skins, and the Kushites (negroes) who have seven kings [7: 8]. As for the little horn, it signifies something which is yet to come, for it will not appear until the coming of the Redeemer. (Abraham ibn Ezra, *Commentary on Daniel*, 4 et seq.)

COMMON-SENSE EXEGESIS

"God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this." [Psalms 42: 11.] "A verse from the Bible can have manifold content" [*Sanhedrin,* 341], but "there is not a single verse which can be forced into a meaning which is not simple and natural." [*Shabbat,* 630.] Although the prophets make use of imagery, even their figurative sayings must be explained in accordance with the meaning of the context and with due regard to the order of the verses. As for the Song of Songs, I have seen various Haggadic interpretations; some of them cover the book as a whole, and the work verse by verse; and others cover particular passages, and are not in agreement with themselves nor with the text taken in the order of the verses. I propose to hold to the simple sense of Scripture, and to explain the text in connection with the verses, but quoting, in the proper places, the Midrashic interpretations which have been handed down by our teachers. (Rashi, *Introduction to the Song of Songs.*)

b. Jewish Neo-Platonism

ALLEGORIC EXEGESIS

(1) *Paradise.*

Eden [Genesis 2: 8] signifies the upper world, and the garden the world of visible forms, which is filled with a multitude of individual beings, as the garden is filled with plants. The river which goes out of Eden is like the mother of all material beings (universal matter). The four rivers which divide from it are the four elements. Adam, Eve and the serpent are the three souls: Adam, who "gave names" [2: 20] is the rational soul, which gives names to things (which creates language); Eve is the animal (the vital) soul; the serpent is the vegetative soul. The Tree of Knowledge signifies the faculty of reproduction, which is in the garden, that is, in

the visible world. When it is said of the serpent that it ate the dust, it refers to the vegetative soul, which is rooted in matter. The aprons of skin signify the body. Adam driven from Paradise to cultivate the earth, signifies the latter end of man (Adam, the rational soul, must compel himself to leave the darkness of the earthly life from which he has been banished, to return to Eden, which is the upper world). The Tree of Life, which gives immortality, is the knowledge of the knowable world. (Solomon ibn Gabirol, quoted in the *Commentary on Genesis* of Abraham ibn Ezra.)

(2) *The Dream of Jacob.*

The ladder which stands on the earth and the upper end of which reaches to the sky [Genesis 28] is the rational soul; the angels which go up and down are thoughts, which take as their objects now spiritual and now material things. (*Ibid.*)

HOW TO OBTAIN KNOWLEDGE

Since our aim is knowledge, which goes from the lowest extremity of a being to its highest extremity, and since all which is at the lowest extremity is derived from the highest extremity, there all that which we find at the lowest extremity must be used for comparison with that which is found at the highest extremity, the lower image being a reproduction of the higher image from which it emanates. . . . After understanding the similarity of the two extremities, arrive, by a study of the visible, at the knowledge of the invisible. (Solomon ibn Gabirol, *The Fount of Life,* II, 12.)

THE CREATIVE WILL

The Will, putting into motion the spiritual substances, as well as the material substances which are affected by these, may be compared to the Will of the soul, which puts into motion the body or one of its organs, such as the heart, when the soul judges that this organ should be moved. [*Ibid.,* V,

59.] . . . Matter and form are like body and air, or like soul and light; the Will is joined to these, and holds them together and interpenetrates them as the soul does the body, as the light does the air or as the intelligence does the soul. [*Ibid.*, 61.] . . . This is why it is said that the All-Highest Creator is found in everything; for the Will, which is His faculty, is communicated to each thing and enters each thing, and no thing is void of it, for it is by virtue of it that all things exist and are. [*Ibid.*, 63.]

The creation of things by the All-Highest Creator, I mean the manner in which form issues from the first source, which is the Will, and is poured into matter, may be compared to the manner in which water issues from a spring and gradually spreads over the things near it; except that the Will proceeds without interruption, without stop, without movement, and without time. [*Ibid.*, 64.] . . . It may again be compared to the word spoken by man; for when a man utters a word, its form and its meaning are impressed on the ear and the intelligence of the hearer. And thus one may say, in a manner of speaking, that the All-Highest Creator has uttered a word which has impressed itself on the essence of matter and has there been retained; that is to say, the created form has been impressed into matter. (*Ibid.*, 71.)

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

When you have a full knowledge of this, your soul will be purified and your mind will become clear, and will piece into the world of thought, and your look will envisage the universality of matter and form. And matter, with all the forms which it possesses, will be like a book open before you; you will look upon the signs written therein, you will examine by means of your thought the figures thereof, and then you may hope to know what there is behind it. And the aim of all this will be to know the world of the Divinity, which is altogether immense, whereas everything which is here below is extremely

small. A double path leads to this sublime knowledge: first, by knowledge of the Will which surrounds matter and form, that is to say, by that superior faculty which is free from all admixture of matter and form; but in order to arrive at a knowledge of this faculty which is utterly distinct from matter and form, one must first make use of the faculty which is clothed in matter and form (universal intelligence and simple substances in general) and rise by means of this faculty by degrees, until one comes to its source and origin. The fruit of this labour is escape from death and the finding of the fountain of life. If you would ask me by the help of what things one may realize this sublime hope, then I tell you that you must sunder yourself from tangible things, submerge yourself in things of the mind, and attach yourself to that which gives happiness; for if you do this, He will turn His look upon you, and will give you happiness, for He is the source of benevolence. May He be praised and exalted. Amen! (*Ibid.*, 73-74.)

c. The Traditionalist Reaction

THE CALL TO TRADITION

THE TEACHER: We believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who brought forth the Hebrews from Egypt with songs, miracles and trials, fed them in the desert, gave them as a possession the land of Canaan, after he had made them cross the Red Sea and the Jordan in the midst of great wonders; He sent Moses with the Law, and after him, thousands of Prophets, who exhorted us to observe this Law, promising good recompense to those who would observe it and bitter punishment to those who would refuse to observe it. And we believe everything that is written in the Torah. . . .

KUSARI: Should you not have said, Jew, that you believe in the Creator of the world, in Him who commands it and guides it, and who has created you and provided for you:

and then repeated what each one says who has a religion, and who, through his religion, aspires to truth and justice, in order that he may become like the Creator in wisdom and justice?

THE TEACHER: The thing whereof you speak is speculative religion, which is reached by means of reasoning, and which contains more than one doubt. Interrogate the philosophers concerning it, and you will find that not on a single point of behaviour and not on a single opinion, are they in agreement. For, among their statements, there are some which can be proved, and there are some which can be just sufficiently made clear to keep our mind at rest, while there are some regarding which, far from furnishing a proof, they cannot even give us this minimum guarantee.

KUSARI: I find, Jew, that your discourse is good from the opening on, and I would continue the discussion with you.

THE TEACHER: If you were told that the king of India is a man full of love, who merits high praise, who has deserved that his name be honoured and his deeds recounted—and if you were to judge from the integrity of the inhabitants of his country, from their good conduct and their loyalty to their king—would you not feel compelled to accept and approve this opinion?

KUSARI: Why should I be compelled? I would still harbour this doubt: Is the integrity of the inhabitants native to them, without the King being responsible for it, or does it spring from the influence of the King, or from both of these causes?

TEACHER: But if he also sent you certain messengers, with presents from India, such as you know, beyond all doubt, could be found nowhere but in India, in the royal palace—and if these messengers were to bring you an unchallenged document, coming from the king himself, and together with these medicaments which cure you of your ills and yet are mortal poison to your enemies and adversaries, so that by use of these, you may go forth and overcome them without arms —if this should happen, would you not feel compelled to listen to this king and to acknowledge his empire?

KUSARI: Surely, for then my first doubt will have vanished. . . .

TEACHER: And if you were to be questioned concerning this, by what means would you answer?

KUSARI: I should use those signs and characters which had first been proven to me, and to these I would add such characters as at first had seemed doubtful to me but concerning which I had later become certain.

TEACHER: And these were exactly the means I used in answering your question, and it was thus also that Moses answered Pharaoh, when he said to him, "The God of the Hebrews has sent me unto thee," that is to say, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. As for these patriarchs, it is well known among all peoples that God conversed with them, and guided them and showed wonders for them. But Moses did not say, "The God of heaven and earth has sent me," nor yet, "The God who has created us all, thee and me." And God Himself, when He spoke to all the Children of Israel, began with these words, "I am the Lord thy God who brought thee forth from the land of Egypt," and not, "I am thy Creator and the Creator of the world." And thus, when you asked me what my faith was, I told you that which I could not but believe, even as the whole congregation of Israel is convinced of the veracity of this revelation, first through the testimony of its own experience, and then through the chain of unbroken tradition which is equivalent to personal experience. (Judah Halevi, *Kusari,* I.)

THE CALL TO JOY

KUSARI: It might have been expected that there would be found among your people a larger proportion of hermits and ascetics than among other peoples.

TEACHER: I am sorry to see you forgetting so soon those principles which I first established and which you had already conceded. Have we not agreed that it is impossible to ap-

proach God except through those acts which He Himself commands us to observe? . . . Divine religion by no means imposes asceticism on us, but leads us by the middle road, granting to each bodily faculty, even as to the soul, liberty without excess; for in excess, too much given to the one means so much taken from the other. . . . A long fast is not commendable for a man who does not eat well, who is weak and whose body is already lean; he would do better to take care of his body. Similarly, the acquisition of riches is not prohibited to such as can acquire them without extraordinary effort, and without being deflected by the pursuit from the knowledge and practice of good: the more so if he has a large family and is prepared to expend his wealth in good works. . . . In a general way, our Law affords equal place for veneration, love and joy. The offering of your days of fast is not more gratifying to God than the joy of your feast days and Sabbaths, if that joy be sincere and fervent. Joy, when it accompanies the practice of the law, is equivalent to prayer. Love the commandment for the love of Him who commands, and know what blessings He gives in commanding you. It is as if you were His guest, invited to His table, and as if you thanked Him with heart and tongue for all His goodness. . . . And if your joy is exalted into dance and song, that too is service of God and closeness to the spirit of the Lord. (*Kusari,* II.)

2. The Culminating Point of Rationalism

FREEDOM

Just as God created all things each with certain qualities, man, for example, with the faculty of speech, and as He created things incapable of certain qualities (as the stone is forever wordless)—in the same way He has created certain things which He endowed only with the possibility of acquiring certain qualities; but it does not thereby follow at all that the Divine Knowledge is in any way diminished. For there are

two lines of possibilities. Thus: we who are in Spain, a long distance from Babylon, we do not know whether to-day the King of Babylon is alive or dead: the parallel holds for both cases, although objectively the one excludes the other; here God knows exactly which of the two possibilities are realized, just as He knows with certainty whether or not there will be an eclipse of the moon this month. The first type of possibility, which reposes on ignorance, is not applicable to God. But as to the second type of possibility, which is only such because God has made a certain object indeterminate, and has created it in such wise that it may equally acquire one of two opposed qualities—in this case we can attribute to God an indeterminate knowledge of the possibility which will be realized. And if some obstinate person should insist, saying: "What? God does not know everything which will happen to a man in the future?" we would reply: "This does not come under the heading of ignorance." For if it were affirmed that all events depend, like the eclipses of the moon, on laws of nature, and are either inevitable or impossible, and if it were affirmed that God has left no latitude with regard to that which decides the being or the not-being of each phenomenon—and if this contention were so, then the world would be ruined, society destroyed and even eternal life without hope. In vain would man labour, build houses, plant trees, tame the wild beasts, forge sword and lance for combat—for everything would be predetermined; and in vain would he be pious, since either his piety or his impiety would have been determined in advance—all of which is in obvious contradiction to the truth. God of set purpose created the possible, as possible, and He knows with absolute precision the subjectively possible which is objectively inevitable. For there are things that happen to man which are not always desired of God, but there are certain events which make clear the Divine intent, for God knows the conduct of each man, and either gives or takes away according to his merit; and there are other events which do not manifest the Divine intent, for they follow from natural

causes, and are either harmful or beneficent according to whether the man put nature to a wrong or right use. (Abraham Ibn Daud, *The Sublime Faith,* 2nd Treatise, Princ. 6, Ch. 2.)

THE GUIDE TO THE PERPLEXED

The object of this treatise is to enlighten a religious man who has been trained to believe in the truth of our Holy Law, who conscientiously fulfils his religious and moral duties, and at the same time has been successful in his philosophic studies. Human reason has attracted him to abide within its sphere; and he finds it difficult to accept as correct the teaching based on the literal interpretation of the Law. . . . Hence he is lost in perplexity and anxiety. If he be guided solely by reason, and renounce his previous views . . . he would consider that he had rejected the fundamental principles of the Law; and even if he retains the opinions . . . and if, instead of following his reason, he abandons its guidance altogether, it would still appear that his religious convictions had suffered loss and injury. . . .

This work has also a second object in view. It seeks to explain certain obscure figures which occur in the Prophets, and are not distinctly characterized as being figures. Ignorant and superficial readers take them in a literal, not in a figurative sense. Even well-informed persons are bewildered if they understand these passages in their literal significance, but they are entirely relieved of their perplexity when we explain the figure, or merely explain that the terms are figurative. For this reason I have called this book *The Guide to the Perplexed.* (Maimonides, *Guide to the Perplexed,* Introduction.)

THE CREATIO EX NIHILO

The fact that a certain proposition has been proved by a dialectical argument will never induce me to accept that prop-

osition, but, on the contrary, will weaken my faith in it, and cause me to doubt it. For when we understand the fallacy of a proof, our faith in the proposition itself is shaken. It is therefore better that a proposition which cannot be demonstrated should be received as an axiom, or that one of the two opposite solutions of the problem be accepted on authority. . . . As for the proof of Aristotle and his followers for the eternity of the universe, they are, according to my opinion, not conclusive; they are open to strong objections, as will be explained. I intend to show that the theory of creation, as taught in Scripture, contains nothing that is not possible; and that all these philosophic arguments which seem to disprove our view contain weak points which make them inconclusive, and render the attacks on our view untenable. Since I am convinced of the correctness of my method, and consider either of the two theories—viz., the Eternity of the Universe and the Creation—as inadmissible, I accept the latter on the authority of Prophecy, which can teach things beyond the reach of philosophical speculation. . . . When I have established the admissibility of our theory, I will, by philosophical reasoning, show that our theory of the Creation is more acceptable than that of the Eternity of the Universe; and although our theory includes points open to criticism, I will show that there are much stronger reasons for the rejection of the theory of our opponents. (*Ibid.*, II, Ch. XVI.)

OF PROPHECY

Every man possesses a certain amount of courage, otherwise he would not stir to remove anything that might injure him. This psychical force seems to me analogous to the physical force of repulsion. Energy varies like all other forces, being great in one case and small in another. There are, therefore, people who attack a lion, whilst others run away at the sight of a mouse. One attacks a whole army and fights, another is frightened and terrified by the threat

of a woman. . . . From our youth we remember that there are different degrees of energy among boys.

The same is the case with the intuitive faculty; all possess it, but in different degrees. Man's intuitive power is especially strong in things which he has well comprehended, and in which his mind is much engaged. Thus you may yourself guess correctly that a certain person said or did a certain thing in a certain matter. Some persons are so strong and sound in their imagination and intuitive faculty that, when they assume a thing to be in existence, the reality either entirely or partly confirms their assumption. Although the causes of the assumption are numerous, and include many preceding, succeeding and present circumstances, by means of the intuitive faculty the intellect can pass over all these causes, and draw inferences from them very quickly, almost instantaneously. The same faculty enables some person to foretell important coming events.

The prophets must have had these two forces, courage and intuition, highly developed, and these were still more strengthened when they were under the influence of the Active Intellect. Their courage was so great, that, e.g., Moses, with only a staff in his hand, dared address a great king in his desire to deliver a nation from his service. He was not frightened or terrified, because he had been told, "I will be with thee" [Exodus, III, 12]. The prophets have not all the same degree of courage, but none of them have been entirely without it. Thus Jeremiah is told, "Be not afraid of them," etc. [Jer. 1:8], and Ezekiel is exhorted, "Do not fear them or their word. . . ."

The true prophets undoubtedly conceive ideas that result from premises which human reason could not comprehend by itself; thus they tell things which men could not tell by reason and ordinary imagination alone; for [the action of the prophet's mental capacities is influenced by] the same agent that causes the perfection of the imaginative faculty, and that enables the prophet thereby to foretell a future event with

such clearness as if it were a thing already perceived with the senses and only through them conveyed to his imagination. This agent perfects the prophet's mind, and influences it in such a manner that he conceives ideas which are confirmed by reality, and are as clear to him as if he decided them by means of syllogisms. . . .

This is the true characteristic of prophecy, and of the disciplines to which the preparation for prophecy must exclusively be devoted. I spoke here of true prophets in order to exclude the third class, namely, those persons whose logical faculties are not fully developed, and who do not possess any wisdom, but are only endowed with imaginative and inventive powers. It may be that things perceived by these persons are nothing but ideas which they had before, and of which impressions were left in their imaginations together with those of other things; but whilst the impression of other images are effaced and have disappeared, certain images alone remain, are seen and considered as new and objective, coming from without. . . . There were therefore men who supported their opinion by a dream which they had, thinking that the vision during sleep was independent of what they had previously believed or heard when awake. Persons whose mental capacities are not fully developed, and who have not attained intellectual perfection must not take any notice of these dreams. Those who reach that perfection may, through the influence of the divine intellect, obtain knowledge independent of that possessed by them when awake. They are true prophets, as is distinctly stated in the Scripture: "And the true prophet possesses a heart of wisdom." (*Ibid.*, II, Ch. XXXVIII.)

OF THE WORLD TO COME

The greatest number dream of a time to come when the Messiah will appear, when the dead will awaken, when all will have a portion in the joys of Paradise, will eat and drink and be well eternally. But it is surprising that very few

indeed attempt to conceive the thing logically, in its essence, to think deeply on the nature of true felicity as an ultimate ideal and to examine whether any of the rewards spoken of truly constitute the sovereign good. . . . Consider, you who read this, the following comparison, and you will understand my thought regarding this subject. Imagine a young boy who is brought before the teacher who is to instruct him. The desire to perfect the boy is obviously based on the desire to make him capable of partaking of the greatest good. But the boy is too tender in years and too weak of understanding to appreciate the good which is intended for him and the advantages which he will reap from his progress. As the teacher is wiser than the boy, he will encourage his pupil to study by the offer of such things as appear to the child desirable and of worth. He will say: "Read, and you shall have nuts and figs and honey." And the little one reads with zest, not because he finds pleasure in the book or understands that there is a benefit to be derived from reading, but because he wants the sweets which have been promised him, and which mean more to him than all study. . . . When he has become a little older those first objects of his desire will appear to him insignificant and contemptible; and if he is to be urged to further effort, he must be offered greater reward, and the teacher will say: "Read, and you shall have splendid shoes and magnificent raiment." The prize is tempting and the boy works hard. Later the prize is again raised; he is promised, for every portion he learns, a certain sum of money. . . . At last, when he is grown up, these rewards tempt him no longer and the rabbi exhorts him, saying: "Learn: you will become president, judge, and people will bow before you." And then the young man learns, holding in view the honour and glory which men will bestow on him. All of this is ugly, but it is necessary because the human spirit is narrow and, while acquiring wisdom, envisages other ends. This is what our sages call "learning good or doing good without sincerity,"

and they warn us against it, saying: "Make not of thy learning either a crown to adorn thee nor a spade to bury thee." The aim of search for the truth is truth itself, and the Torah is truth; the aim of the knowledge of the commandments is to practise them. . . . If, therefore, we seek nothing more than this in the pursuit of knowledge, we should also seek nothing more when we serve God and practise His commandments, and this is what Antigonos of Socho affirmed in saying: "Be not like servants who minister to their master for the sake of payment, but be like those who minister without expecting any reward." This, too, is what is called "serving for love," and our sages say with the Psalmist: "Blessed is the man who glorifies God and takes pleasure in His commandments [*Avoda Zara,* 19a] and not in the reward which he might expect." And this has been expressed even more clearly in the Talmudic Treatise *Nedarim* [62a]: "Perhaps thou thinkest, I will learn the Torah, in order that I may become rich, that I may become a rabbi, that I may be rewarded in the world to come; but it is written in the Scripture, *in order to love the Lord,* all that thou dost should be done only for love of Him. . . ." But as in the beginning even the intelligent man finds it somewhat difficult to make himself familiar with this thought—for as men we are accustomed to act or to refrain from action according to the good or the harm which might result—for this reason the sages of old permitted the people to imagine that material reward and punishment were attached to their obedience or their disobedience, in order that they might accept the faith and observe the commandments. . . . He loses nothing in believing this and in modelling his conduct on the expectation of reward and punishment until, by habituation and zeal, he arrives at an understanding of the truth and of service for love. Our sages of old said: "Give yourself to the Torah, even if not for its own sake, and in the end you will give yourself to it for its own sake." Maimonides, *Commentary on the Mishna,* X, 1.)

THE MESSIAH

Let it not enter your mind that the Messiah will perform miracles, or create new things, or resurrect the dead, as the stupid relate; we must await nothing of this kind. Rabbi Akiba, one of our greatest scholars in the Mishna, was equerry to Bar Kozba; he, and the scholars of his time, took him to be the Messiah until the day he was killed (for his sins) and only then did they know that he was not the Messiah. These sages asked of him neither signs nor miracles. But an important principle is that our Torah, and its precepts and commandments, are eternal; nothing can be added and nothing taken away; whosoever does this, or whosoever brings a different sense into the Torah, or interprets it so as to change it, should be treated as an impostor, a criminal and a despiser of the Law. If therefore there should arise a king of the race of David, who will turn his spirit toward the Torah, and, like his forefather, David, will practise both the written and the oral commandments of the Law, and if he shall cause all Israel to live according to the Law and to strengthen it; and if his labour prospers, and if he conquers the surrounding peoples, rebuilds the Temple and reassembles the scattered remnants of Israel, then there will be no doubt: it will be the true Messiah. But if fortune does not attend his labours, if he falls in combat, then it was not he whom the promises announced: he is only like the other pious kings of the House of David who have been defeated, and God will have sent him to be a trial to great numbers of men, as it is said: "And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end." [Daniel 11:35.] As for the man who shall give himself out as the Anointed, and who, in consequence, shall suffer the just punishment of death—what greater error could there have been? All the prophets had proclaimed that the Messiah would redeem the children of Israel and would deliver them from their sufferings, that he would reassemble the dispersed

and would strengthen them in the observance of the commandments, while this man brought it about that Israel, as a nation, should be destroyed by the sword, should be scattered and humiliated; he introduced changes into the Law, and brought the world to err in adoring something outside of the true God. Nevertheless, no human mind can apprehend the designs of the Creator, for His ways are not our ways; so that this man, like the founders of all other later religions, has served to make smooth the way for the true Messiah, who shall bring all the peoples of the world to the one service of God, as it is said: "For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent." [Zephaniah 3: 97.] Thanks to these new religions, the world has been filled with the idea of a Messiah-Redeemer, and with the words of the Law and the commandments; these words have now been spread to the furthest islands, and to numerous peoples which are barbarous; all of them to-day study the words of the Torah and are exercised by the question of its validity; some assert that the Commandments of the Torah are true, but have now been abrogated; others give them a secret meaning, and say that their contents have already been realized; but when the true Messiah will come, all will be converted and will recognize their errors. (Maimonides, *The Strong Hand,* Book XIV, Ch. VI.)

3. The Religious and Mystic Reaction

FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE

Whoever has as a foundation the tradition or prophetic inspiration, him nothing in the world can shake, for knowledge is much inferior to prophecy, which is a principle recognized by all positive religions—and all the more so by ours, which is the true religion. We believe all the traditions, as we believe in the miracles which were wrought for the benefit of

the patriarchs, the crossing of the Red Sea, the standing still of the sun for Joshua. These are obviously things denied by the philosophers who ignore Moses and the prophets as worthless; but we have nothing to do with people who reject tradition as a matter of principle; let those follow them who hold it to be a proved thing that whatsoever seems contrary to nature is impossible, as if there were not truths beyond those which they are capable of apprehending. What is utterly inconceivable to me, is that these enemies of the faith should, by their own confession, be unable to explain certain phenomena, and should be incapable of knowing the essence of nature. Thus, it is impossible to tell why the magnet attracts iron; if Aristotle had been told of this phenomenon, without his having direct personal knowledge of it, he would have considered it impossible. But having personal experience of it, he sought to reason about it and to offer philosophic explanations. And well did David rebuke people of this kind when he said, in the ninth Psalm: "It is the testimony of God which maketh wise the foolish." In other words: before the miracles which are performed in their sight (and among these must be counted the crossing of the Red Sea and the revelation on Sinai), their understanding, which doubted and wandered, recognized that there is an omnipotent God, Lord of the nature which he preserves, moves and modifies without pause. (*Response of Solomon ben Adreth,* No. 9.)

MYSTICAL EXEGESIS

Oh, how perplexed is the spirit of the man who does not understand the true sense of the words of Scripture, though every day their meaning is uttered with a sweet voice. . . . This thing may be compared to a beautiful maiden imprisoned in a palace. This maiden has a lover, but no one knows of his love except the maiden herself. And as the lover, urged on by the desire to see his beloved, passes often by the palace, throwing his glances in all directions, to obtain sight of her,

the maiden resolves to make a small opening in the wall that imprisons her; and as her lover passes, she hastily looks out of the opening, and then draws back again. But of all those persons who were passing by the palace at the same time as the lover, no one saw the face of the lovely maiden. Only the lover saw, because he was the only one whose eyes and heart and soul were drawn toward her. It is even thus with the Scripture, which does not reveal its mystery except to its lovers. But to the initiate, whose eyes and heart and soul are drawn toward the beloved, she will for a brief moment deign to show herself. . . . The Holy Scripture proceeds thus with a man: first she signals him to approach. If the man does not understand, she calls him "fool," as it is written: "Whosoever is a fool, let him come to me. . . ." When the man comes near, she speaks to him through the veil which still separates them. The man begins to understand little by little. He is then at the stage of syllogistic interpretation. She then begins to speak to him through a transparent veil. The man is then at the stage of symbolic interpretation. And finally, when habit has made him familiar with Scripture, she shows herself and speaks with him face to face, revealing the mysteries which she has hidden from the beginning of time. Then Scripture says to the man: "Thou seest now that in the same words which before contained a literal meaning, there is now a mystic meaning"; and just as, for the literal meaning, all the words must be there, without addition or curtailment, in the same way, for the mystical meaning, all the words must be there, without the addition of a single letter. And for this reason it is proper for men to give themselves zealously to the study of the Scripture, and to become its lovers. (*Zohar*, II, 99a.)

THE AIM OF THE KABALLAH

The book *Zohar* reflects the light of the supreme Mother (the divine splendour), the source of penitence. The Jews who

will study this book will taste of the Tree of Life and will not longer have to be tried. It is through the book *Zohar* that Israel will be mercifully redeemed from the exile; and the words of the Scripture will be fulfilled: "And the Lord will lead him and there will not be with him a strange god." When this comes to pass Israel will no longer be under the shadow of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; he will no longer be subject to the law which prescribes what is permitted and what is forbidden, what is pure and what is impure; for in that time to come we shall draw our nature from the Tree of Life, and there will no longer be either questions which come from the side of evil, or disputes which arise from the side of impurity, as it is written: "I shall make the impure spirit to cease on earth." (*Ibid.*, III, 124b.)

GOD AND HIS EMANATIONS

Before He had created any form in the world, before He had brought forth any image, He was alone, formless, resembling nothing. And who shall conceive Him as He was then, before the creation—since He had no form? And it is also forbidden to represent Him by any image or by any form whatsoever, even by His Holy Name, even by a letter or by a dot. This is the meaning of these words: "Ye saw no image on that day when the Lord spoke with you," meaning, they saw nothing which they could represent by a form or image. But after He had produced the divine form of Man, He made use of it as of a chariot, Merchava, to descend to earth; He desired to be called by this form, which is the sacred Name of Jehovah; He desired to make Himself known by His attributes, by each attribute separately, and called Himself the God of Mercy, the God of Justice, the Omnipotent God, the God of Hosts, and He that is. His object therein was to make men understand what are His qualities, and how justice and mercy extend over the whole world, as well as over the works of men. For, if He had not spread His

light over all His creatures, how could we have known Him? How would it have been possible to say that the universe is filled with His glory? Woe to Him that even dares to compare Him to one of His own attributes! Still less should He be likened to man, who comes from earth and is destined to die. He is to be conceived as beyond all His created things, and beyond all His attributes. Then, when these things have been taken away, and there remain neither attribute, nor image, nor figure, that which does remain is like a sea; for the waters of the sea are themselves without end and without form; but when they spread over the earth, they produce an image, and this permits us to make a reckoning: the sources of the waters of the sea and the stream which issues therefrom to spread over the earth are two. Then there is formed a huge basin, as when one scoops out a vast deep; this basin is filled with the waters which went out from the source; it is the sea itself, and should be counted as the third. At present this immense depth is divided into seven channels, which are like long vessels whereby the waters of the sea are carried off. The source, the stream, the sea and the seven channels together make the number ten. And if the worker who wrought these vessels breaks them, the waters will return to their source, and there will remain only the fragments of the vessels, void of water. It is thus that the cause of causes brought forth the ten Sephiroth. The Crown, that is the source whence bursts an infinite light, and it is thence that the name of the Eternal, *Ain Soph,* is drawn, to indicate the supreme cause; for it possesses, in this state, neither form nor figure; there can be found there no means of apprehending it, no means of understanding it. This is the intent of the saying: "Meditate not on a thing which is too high for thee." Then there is formed a vessel which is as compact as a point, but into which, nevertheless, the divine light penetrates: this is the source of wisdom, it is wisdom itself, by virtue of which the Supreme Cause names itself the All-Knowing God. Afterwards, it creates a vessel which is as mighty as the sea, which

is called understanding. Thence comes the name of God, the God of Understanding. But we must know, nevertheless, that God is All-Knowing and All-Understanding only by His own nature: for wisdom merits not this name for itself, but for Him Who is Wise, and brings forth wisdom from the light which emanates from Him; nor shall understanding be conceived as being of itself, but only through the Intelligent Being which has filled it with its own substance. Let Him only withdraw, and it becomes utterly arid. It is thus that the words must be understood: "The waters withdrew from the sea, and the bed of the river became arid and dry." Finally, the sea is divided into seven parts, and there are the seven vessels which are called mercy or greatness, justice or strength, beauty, triumph, glory, royalty, and the foundation or basis. It is for this reason that He is named the Great or the Merciful, the Strong, the Magnificent, the God of Victories, the Creator to whom all glory belongs and the foundation of all things. It is this last attribute which sustains all the others, as well as the sum of the worlds. Finally, He is also the King of the Universe; for everything is within His power, whether He desire to make fewer the number of vessels, and to augment the light which burst forth from them, or whether the contrary be His wish. (*Zohar,* II, 42-43, quoted by A. Franck in his *Kaballah.*)

THE ALPHABET AND THE CREATION

When God was about to create the world by His word, the twenty-two letters of the alphabet descended from His terrible and august crown whereon they were engraved with a pen of flaming fire. They stood round about God, and one after the other spoke and entreated, "Create the world through me!" The first to step forward was the letter Taw. It said: "O Lord of the world! May it be Thy will to create the world through me, seeing that it is through me that Thou wilt give the Torah to Israel by the hand of Moses, as it is

written, 'Moses commanded us to keep the Torah.'" The Holy One, blessed be He, made answer and said, "No!" Taw asked, "Why not?" and God answered: "Because in days to come I shall place thee as a sign of death upon the foreheads of men." As soon as Taw heard these words issue from the mouth of the Holy One, blessed be He, it retired from His presence disappointed.

The Shin then stepped forward, and pleaded: "O Lord of the world, create Thy world through me, seeing that Thine own name Shaddai begins with me." Unfortunately it is also the first letter of *Shaw,* lie, and of *Sheker,* falsehood, and that incapacitated it. Resh had no better luck. It was pointed out that it was the initial letter of *Ra,* wicked, and *Rasha,* evil, and after that the distinction it enjoys of being the first letter in the name of God, *Rahum,* the Merciful, counted for naught. The Kof was rejected because *Kelalah,* curse, outweighs the advantage of being the first in *Kodesh,* the Holy One. In vain did Zadde call attention to *Zaddik,* the Righteous One; there was *Zarot,* the misfortunes of Israel, to testify against it. Pe had *Podeh,* the Redeemer, to its credit, but *Peshah,* transgression, reflected dishonour upon it. Ain was declared unfit, because, though it begins *Anawah,* humility, it performs the same service for *Erwah,* immorality. Samek said: "O Lord, may it be Thy will to begin the creation with me, for Thou art called *Samek,* after me, the Upholder of all that fall." But God said: "Thou art needed in the place in which thou art; thou must continue to uphold all that fall." Nun introduces *Ner,* "the lamp of the Lord," which is "the spirit of men," but it also introduces *Ner,* "the lamp of the wicked," which will be put out by God. Mem starts Melek, king, one of the titles of God. As it is the first letter of *Mehumah,* confusion, it had no chance of accomplishing its desire. The claim of Lamed bore its refutation within itself. It advanced the argument that it was the first letter of *Luhot,* the celestial tables for the Ten Commandments; it forgot that the tables were shivered in pieces

by Moses. Kaf was sure of victory. *Kisseh,* the throne of God, *Kabod,* His honour, and *Keter,* His crown, all begin with it. God had to remind it that He would smite together His hands, *Kaf,* in despair over the misfortunes of Israel. Yod at first sight seemed the appropriate letter for the beginning of creation, on account of its association with *Yah,* God, if only *Yezer ha-Rah,* the evil inclination, had not happened to begin with it too. Tet is identified with Tob, the good. However, the truly good is not in this world; it belongs to the world to come. Het is the first letter of *Hanun,* the Gracious One; but this advantage is offset by its place in the word for Sin, *Hattat.* Zain suggests *Zakor,* remembrance, but is itself the word for weapon, the doer of mischief. Waw and He compose the Ineffable Name of God; they are therefore too exalted to be pressed into the service of the mundane world. If Dalat had stood only for *Dabar,* the Divine Word, it would have been used, but it stands also for *Din,* justice, and under the rule of law without love the world would have fallen to ruin. Finally, instead of reminding one of *Gadol,* great, Gimel would not do, because *Gemul,* retribution, begins with it.

After the claims of all these letters had been disposed of, Bet stepped before the Holy One, blessed be He, and pleaded before Him: "O Lord of the World! May it be Thy will to create Thy world through me, seeing that all the dwellers in the world give praise daily unto Thee through me, as it is said 'Blessed (*Baruch*) be the Lord for ever. Amen and Amen.' " The Holy One, blessed be He, at once granted the petition of Bet. He said, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord." And He created the world through Bet, as it is said: "Bereshit (in the beginning) God created the heaven and earth."

The only letter that had refrained from urging its claims was the modest Alef, and God rewarded it later for its humility by giving it the first place in the Decalogue. (Louis Ginsburg, *The Legends of the Jews,* Vol. I; *Zohar,* I, 2b-3b.)

THE ANCIENT OF ANCIENTS

We learned in the Secret Book that the Ancient of Ancients, the Mystery of Mysteries, the Secret of Secrets is imperfectly determinable. We know only that He is the Ancient of Ancients, the Secret of Secrets. By His works we glimpse faintly His being. He is the "Master of the white robe and refulgent visage." He is seated on the throne which is made of clusters of flame. The white of His eye comprises four hundred thousand worlds, and in the world to come the just will inherit four hundred thousand worlds illumined by the light of the white of His eye. . . . Thirteen thousand times ten thousand worlds have their foundation and their support in the Head of the Ancient of Days. A dew issues each day from this Head and spreads outside of it, as it is written: "For my head is filled with dew." This is the dew which, in the days to come, will restore the dead to life, as it is written: "For the dew which falls upon you is the dew of light." It is this dew which keeps alive the higher saints; in the world to come it will constitute the ground Manna of the just. . . . The whiteness of the head shines in thirteen directions, four to the front, four to the right side, four to the left side, one above the Head; and thus it results that the length of the Face extends to three hundred and seventy times ten thousand worlds. (*Zohar*, III, 128a, b.)

THE TWO WORLDS

We learned that God created the world here below in the image of the world above. Jerusalem is the centre of the earth. First he built Zion. . . . It was from Zion, the centre of beauty, that the Beauty of God issued. Jerusalem here below is blessed by the Zion above. They are connected, each with each. . . . "And he shall go forth to come to the altar which is before the Lord, and he shall obtain the forgiveness of his sins." There is a tradition which teaches us that at

the moment when the priest here below grants forgiveness, the priest on high also grants forgiveness. One must begin with the priest here below in order to obtain remission from the priest on high. Rabbi Judah says: "If Israel only knew why God punishes him more severely than the other peoples, he would realize that God is not exacting even one hundredth part of his debt." Multitudes of celestial legions are at the service of God; they sing the praises of God only when Israel here below sings the praises of God; and when Israel here below forgets the Lord, the singing of the angels is suspended. God says to Israel: "If thou but knewest how many myriads of angels thy sin suspends in their singing, thou wouldst know that thou art not worthy to live in this world, not even an hour." Nevertheless, God does not abandon His people, but grants it salvation in giving it the means whereby to obtain the remission of its sins. When the sinful have made a breach in the world on high, and when the mighty serpent raises its head, the priest comes and places a crown on the head of the king, consummating the union between the king and the Mother (the divine Splendour). Then the world is blessed and peace spreads through the worlds below and on high; the angels in the celestial palaces rejoice, and penitent sinners here below are forgiven. (*Zohar,* III, 65b-66a.)

THE POWER OF PRAYER

"Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth." These words of the Scripture are the deep and perfect and the eternal joy of the worlds when they are united with the Supreme Spirit. In this union imperfect spirits will attain perfection, and the spirits which were void of light will become refulgent. And all this union depends on nothing but the prayer of man. . . . Happy are they in this world below and in the world to come who know how to bring about this union and who know how to approach the Master. To this union belong genuflexion, adoration, prostration with arms extended, face

to earth—which are motions made by those who desire to draw toward themselves the Supreme Spirit, the Soul of all souls, by those who desire that their prayers should ascend to the Supreme Being, the Infinite, which sends out light and benediction. . . . Happy is he who knows how to bring about this union; he is loved here below and in the world above. When the Holy One, blessed be He, decrees punishment, such a man is able to make it as nothing. Let it not be thought that therein this man would be acting contrary to the will of the Master; this is not so. But when he has brought about the union, all severe decrees are suspended of themselves; for severity cannot exist in the presence of the union. . . . Just as the smoke of sacrifice went up into the heavens when the High Priest officiated and the Levites sang the hymns, so do the spirits go up from celestial palace to celestial palace when a man addresses his prayers to the Supreme Light, the Light of Lights; it is then that the spirits, each like a small radiance, are drawn into the great radiance, and penetrate into the celestial Holy of Holies, where they are flooded with the benedictions which flow from the Holy of Holies, even as waters burst from an inviolable source. In this seventh celestial Palace dwells the Mystery of Mysteries which is beyond comprehension and beyond thought. Here dwells the Eternal Will, the Will of the Infinite, the Will that rules the worlds above and below, the Will which can be apprehended only by the acts which attend it, the Will which is destined to reign here below as well as above, in order that the union of all with the Will shall be perfect. . . . At the moment of the union, we said, all forms and all images which exist only for the purpose of enabling the understanding to seize the Supreme Thought,—which is above all understanding because it is above all form and imagery—at this moment all forms and images disappear, and the Supreme Thought emerges in all its purity. Now the Supreme Will dwells in the Thought; wherefrom it follows that, by the prayer which brings about the union, man draws the Supreme Will down to us. It is

concerning this mystery that the Scripture says: "Happy the people which possesses all these blessings; happy the people which has the Lord as its God." Whosoever has the power of thus binding himself to the Master causes the world to share in the divine compassion; the prayer of man is never barren; it brings his needs before the Master, as a son brings his needs before his father. God grants the requests of such a man; such a man inspires fear in all created things; for he commands, and the Holy One, blessed be He, executes the command. Finally, it is concerning such a man that the Scripture says: "Thou formest thy plans and they are successful; and the Light shineth in the paths whereby thou goest." (*Zohar,* I, 44b-46a.)

THE HEAVENLY MEDIATOR

David prayed: "Turn toward me and be merciful; give Thy servant strength." Why did David imagine that God could turn toward him? Has not God more beautiful things towards which to turn? Tradition teaches that God has yet another David, chief of the celestial legions; and when God would grant His mercy to the world, He looks at this David, and His face is radiant; it illumines the universe and gives life to the world. The beauty of this David shines through all the worlds. His head is adorned with seven crowns of gold. . . . It is for this David that love and mercy awaken throughout all the ranks of the Celestial Hierarchy. It is of this David that Scripture writes: "He was light-haired; he had beautiful eyes and he was comely to see." It is toward this celestial David that God turns. The Scripture says: "The odour of my son, who is like a field which the Lord hath blessed." (*Zohar,* III, 84a.)

4. Jewish Determinism

THE DOMAIN OF DETERMINISM

It is proven by the philosophy of nature that all things which are in the domain of becoming must have four causes; now like the existence of causes, the existence of effects must be granted, and the existence of these effects is not simply possible, but necessary. Again, if these causes are examined, it is seen that they in turn are necessarily determined by the existence of other causes . . . and if we seek the causes of these causes, turn by turn, the result will be the same, until we reach the first being, which necessarily exists. It therefore follows that the merely possible does not exist. . . .

It is known and universally admitted that that which is potential cannot pass over into the active without an agency which shall cause this passage. Thus, as soon as the will to perform a certain act rises in a man, this will, which is at first only potential, must necessarily have had, in order to pass into action, an agency outside itself, and this agency is nothing more nor less than the object (impulse) which impels the function of desire to unite and be confounded with the imagination, which precipitates the act of the will, as Aristotle has proven in his work on the soul. Since it is this union which has brought about the voluntary act, the will was not free, and this union is itself necessary, for it is determined by the object (or impulse) which impels it. . . .

It has already been proven in the first part of this treatise that the Divine Knowledge extends to all particular things, as particular things, even when, not having yet come into existence, they possess no being. Then if God knows of two possibilities, the one that will be realized will necessarily be realized; otherwise it would no longer be knowledge, but supposition and error. Therefore that which has been assumed to be possible is in reality necessary. . . . (Chasdai Crescas, *The Light of the Lord.*)

THE DOMAIN OF LIBERTY

The movement determines, it is true, the direction of the will, but the desire remains none the less a desire, and not a compulsion, a necessity; for its essence is such that it could desire the contrary event, if the impulse had not determined that it should desire the other, and it does this, moreover, without experiencing any compulsion or necessity. And precisely because it is of its nature to be able to desire either one of two contraries the will is called will and not necessity. (*Ibid.*, IV, 3.)

GOD IMMANENT AND TRANSCENDENT

I have now explained the nature of God and his properties. I have shown that He necessarily exists; that He is one God; that from the necessity alone of His own nature He is and acts; that He is, and in what way He is, the free cause of all things; that all things are in Him, and so depend upon Him that without Him they can neither be nor be conceived. (Spinoza, *Ethics,* I, Proposition XXXV, Appendix.)

Thought is one of the infinite attributes of God which expresses the eternal and infinite essence of God or, in other words, God is a thinking thing. (*Ibid.*, II, Prop. I.)

Nothing is clearer than that Being absolutely infinite is necessarily defined as Being which consists of infinite attributes, each one of which expresses a certain essence, eternal and infinite. (*Ibid.*, I, Prop. X, Schol.)

IDEAS AND THINGS

The order and connection of ideas is the same as the order and connection of things.

Before we go any further, we must here recall to our memory what we have already demonstrated, that everything which can be perceived by the infinite intellect as constituting the

essence of substance pertains entirely to the one substance only, and consequently that substance thinking and substance extended are one and the same substance, which is now comprehended under this attribute and now under that. Thus, also, a mode of extension and the idea of that mode are one and the same thing expressed in two different ways—a truth which some of the Hebrews appear to have seen as if through a cloud, since they say that God, the intellect of God, and the things which are the objects of the intellect are one and the same thing. For example, the circle existing in nature and the idea that is in God of an existing circle are one and the same thing, which is manifested through different attributes; and, therefore, whether we think of nature under the attribute of extension, or under the attribute of thought, or under any other attribute whatever, we shall discover one and the same order, or one and the same connection of causes; that is to say, in every case the same sequence of things. Nor have I had any other reason for saying that God is the cause of the idea, for example, of the circle in so far only as He is a thinking thing, and of the circle itself in so far as He is an extended thing, but this, that the formal Being of the idea of a circle can only be perceived through another mode of thought, as its proximate cause, and this again must be perceived through another, and so on ad infinitum. So that when things are considered as modes of thought, we must explain the order of the whole of nature or the connection of causes by the attribute of thought alone, and when things are considered as modes of extension, the order of the whole of nature must be explained through the attribute of extension alone, and so with other attributes. (*Ibid.*, II, Prop. VII and Schol.)

THE PRACTICE OF JOY

It is to be observed that in the ordering of our thoughts and images we must always look to those qualities which in

each thing are good, so that we may be determined to action always by a feeling of joy. For example, if a man sees that he pursues glory too eagerly, let him think on its proper use, for what end it is to be followed, and by what means it can be obtained; but let him not think upon its abuse and vanity, and on the inconstancy of men and things of this sort, about which no one thinks unless through disease of mind; for with such thoughts do those who are ambitious greatly torment themselves when they despair of obtaining the honours for which they are striving; and, while they vomit forth rage, wish to be thought wise. Indeed, it is certain that those covet glory the most who are loudest in declaiming against its abuse and the vanity of the world. Nor is this a peculiarity of the ambitious, but is common to all to whom fortune is adverse and who are impotent in mind; for we see that a poor and avaricious man is never weary of speaking about the abuse of money and the vices of the rich, thereby achieving nothing save torment to himself and showing to others that he is unable to bear with equanimity not only his own poverty but also the wealth of others. So also a man who has not been well received by his mistress thinks of nothing but the fickleness of women, their faithlessness, and their other oft-proclaimed failings,—all of which he forgets as soon as he is taken into favour by his mistress again. He, therefore, who desires to govern his inclinations and appetites from a love of liberty alone will strive as much as he can to know virtues and their causes, and to fill his mind with that joy which springs from a true knowledge of them. Least of all will he desire to contemplate the vices of men and disparage men, or to delight in a false show of liberty. He who will diligently observe these things (and they are not difficult), and will continue to practise them, will assuredly in a short space of time be able for the most part to direct his actions in accordance with the command of reason. (*Ibid.*, V, Prop. X and Schol.)

THE INTELLECTUAL LOVE OF GOD

God loves himself with an infinite intellectual love. (*Ibid.*, V, Prop. XXXV.)

The intellectual love of the mind toward God is the very love with which He loves Himself, not in so far as He is Infinite, but in so far as He can be manifested through the essence of the human mind, considered under the form of eternity; that is to say, the intellectual love of the mind towards God is part of the infinite love which God loves Himself.

Hence we clearly understand that our salvation, or blessedness, or liberty, consists in a constant and eternal love towards God, or in the love of God towards man. This love or blessedness is called Glory in the sacred writings, and not without reason. For whether it is related to God or to the mind, it may properly be called repose of mind, which is, in truth, not distinguished from Glory. (*Ibid.*, V, Prop. XXXVI and Schol.)

Blessedness is not the reward of virtue, but is virtue itself; nor do we delight in blessedness because we restrain our lusts; but, on the contrary, because we delight in it, therefore are we able to restrain them.

I have finished everything I wished to explain concerning the power of the mind over the inclinations and concerning its liberty. From what has been said we see what is the strength of the wise man, and how much he surpasses the ignorant man, who is driven forward by lust alone. For the ignorant man is not only agitated by external causes in many ways, and never enjoys true peace of soul, but lives also ignorant, as it were, both of God and of things, and as soon as he ceases to suffer ceases also to be. On the other hand, the wise man, in so far as he is considered as such, is scarcely ever moved in his mind, but, being conscious of a certain eternal necessity, of himself, of God, and of things, never ceases to be, and always enjoys true peace of soul. If the way which, as I

have shown, leads hither, seems very difficult, it can nevertheless be found. It must indeed be difficult, since it is so seldom discovered; for if salvation lay ready to hand and could be discovered without great labour, how could it be possible that it should be neglected almost by everybody? But all noble things are as difficult as they are rare. (*Ibid.*, V, Prop. XLII and Schol.)

Chapter III

POETRY

1. Mystical and Religious Poetry

PRAYER FOR THE NEW YEAR

BLESSED art Thou, O Lord, King of all the earth, Who sanctifiest Israel and the day of remembrance. Thou rememberest ever the work of the universe, and revisitest all Thy primal creations. Before Thee the mysteries unveil and all the multitude of hidden things of old. For there is no forgetfulness before the throne of Thy glory and nothing is hidden from Thy sight . . . for Thou lookest and seest through to the end of the generations. Thou hast set up a law and a remembrance for all spirit and all flesh, and many deeds and multitudes of creatures without number shall be recalled thereby. From the beginning didst Thou proclaim it, and from of old it was unveiled. This is the day that glorifies Thy work, a memorial of the first of days. This is a law unto Israel, a decree of the God of Jacob. And the fate of the nations shall be pronounced this day: war and peace, famine and harvest. And the fate of men shall be decreed, and life and death apportioned. Who shall not be mustered then? For every creature shall be remembered before Thee, the work of man and his appointed fate, his plans and intentions, his reflections and his cunning. Happy will be the man that hath not forgotten Thee, and the son of man that hath found his strength in Thee. For he that seeketh Thee shall never stumble, and he that trusteth in Thee shall never be confounded. . . .

Thou, our God and the God of our fathers, let us be remembered in kindness before Thee, and from the heaven of

heavens let the compassionate decree go forth. And for us remember, God of our Fathers, the covenant and the mercy and the promise which Thou gavest on Mount Moriah to Abraham our father. Recall now how he bound his son Isaac upon the altar, and how his desire to serve Thee was stronger than pity for his son. Now let Thy pity be stronger than Thine anger against us, and let Thine infinite goodness turn back Thy wrath from against Thy people and Thy city and Thine inheritance. And O God, our God, let there be fulfilment of the words that were given from the throne of Thy glory through Moses Thy servant: I will remember unto them the first covenant, when I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt before the whole world, to be their God. I am the Lord. . . .

Thy glory was unveiled in a cloud what time Thou didst speak unto Thy people. Thy voice was heard from heaven. Thou didst reveal Thyself in mists of splendour, the whole world shook and the primeval beasts trembled before Thee, when Thou, our King, wast unveiled on Sinai, to teach Thy people the Law and the commandments to let them hear the majesty of Thy voice, holy words from amid flames of fire, and the sound of a trumpet raised above them, as it is written in thy Torah: And it came to pass on the morning of the third day, and there were voices and lightning and a dark cloud over the mountain, and the sound of a trumpet exceeding strong, and trembling seized all the people in the host. And it is said: And the sound of the trumpet grew and became exceeding strong. Then Moses spoke and God answered with a mighty voice. And it is said: And the people beheld the blazing stones, and the lightning, and the smoking mountain, and they heard the mighty voices and the calling of the trumpet: and the people saw and were afraid and stood afar off. . . . And by the hand of Thy servants the prophets Thou hast written: Ye that dwell on earth, all the inhabitants thereof, ye shall behold a standard lifted on the mountains, and ye shall hear a great trumpet, and they that were lost shall return

from out of Assyria and they that were oppressed from out of Egypt, and they shall bow low before the Lord in the sacred mountain of Jerusalem. And it is said: And they shall see the Lord their God over them, and the lightning shall be His arrow, and He will blow a trumpet and ride on the whirlwinds of Temen. The Lord God of Hosts will shield them: Thy peace shall be like a shield over Thy people Israel.

God, our God and the God of our fathers, sound the great trumpet of our liberation, and lift up the standard to assemble our exiles, and draw together those that are scattered among the nations and those that are dispersed to the ends of the earth, and lead us with song to Zion, Thy city, lead us in everlasting joy to the house of Thy holiness, Jerusalem. (*The Prayer-Book.*)

NISHMAT

The soul of all that lives shall bless Thy name, O God our God. The spirit that is in all flesh shall glorify and exalt Thy memory, Thou, our King. For ever and for ever art Thou God, from eternity unto eternity; and there is no other King and Savior. Thou art comfort and compassion in time of woe and distress, and Thou alone art our King. God of first and last things, master of creation, Lord of the generations, endless praise to Him that governs His world with tenderness and leads His creatures with compassion. See! The Lord neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, but those that slumber He awakeneth, and those that sleep He rouseth: He giveth speech to the dumb, and freedom to the bound, and raiseth up the fallen and straighteneth them that stoop with weariness. Thee alone we acknowledge. Though we poured out melody like the sea, and song like the multitudes of its waves; though the praises of our lips were like the wide-spreading heavens, and our eyes lightened like the sun and moon; though our outspread hands were like the wings of eagles and our steps as fleet as the hind, yet should we fail to give full glory to Thee,

Lord our God and the God of our fathers, and fail to give full blessing to Thy name for the thousand thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand kindnesses which Thou has wrought with us and with our fathers. Thou didst bring us forth from Egypt, Thou didst deliver us from the house of bondage; Thou didst nourish us in time of hunger and give us satiety; Thou didst deliver us from the sword, Thou didst save us from pestilence; Thou didst keep us far from many and great evils. Until now Thy compassion hath been our help, and Thy grace hath not abandoned us. Lord our God, be with us for ever and ever. These, the limbs that Thou hast given us, the spirit and the soul that Thou didst breathe into us, and the tongue which Thou didst put into our mouths, they will praise and glorify and exalt Thee, they will reverence and sanctify Thy kingly name. For every tongue shall praise Thee and every mouth shall bless Thee and every knee shall bend unto Thee and every upright being prostrate itself before Thee; and every heart shall fear Thee and every inward vessel sing to Thy name. As it is written: These my bones shall say, Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, Who deliverest the weak from the strong, the needy from the oppressor? Who shall be likened unto Thee? Who is equal unto Thee? Who shall be compared unto Thee, God the great, the mighty, the terrible, supreme God, Master of heaven and earth. We will praise Thee and glorify Thee and bless Thy name, as it is said of David: Praise the Lord, O my soul, and ye, the inward parts of me. . . . (*The Prayer-Book.*)

THE INTERCESSION OF THE PATRIARCHS

Jeremiah went about by the fathers' graves and said: "Beloved ones, how can ye lie at rest, while your children are banished, pierced through with the sword? Where then is your merit in a land laid waste?" The patriarchs all cried with bitter lamentations, because they were bereft of their children; with an imploring voice they moaned to the Dweller

in the skies: "Where is Thy pledge: 'But I will for their sakes remember the covenant of their ancestors'?"

"They changed My glory for vanity: they had no dread of Me, they feared Me not; when I hid my face from them, they longed not, and waited not for Me. How shall I then hold my peace when they say: 'He is not our God'?"

The father of the multitude cried in their behalf, and implored the Most High God: "In vain was I tried ten times for their sake, since I now behold their destruction. Where is Thy promise: 'Fear not, Abram'?"

"Ah, they have erred and gone astray from Me, and consecrated themselves to strange gods; they counselled the people to hew out cisterns for them, but broken cisterns are theirs. How shall I hold my tongue when they break the ten commandments?"

And thus cried Isaac woefully unto the Dweller in the skies: "In vain was I appointed to be slain, since my seed is crushed and ruined. Where is Thy pledge: 'But I will establish My covenant with Isaac'?"

"They rebelled against the prophet Jeremiah, and defiled Mount Moriah; I am weary of hearing the complaint which rises to me from the earth. And how shall I hold my peace since Zechariah is slain?"

And then he spoke who was born for study, like jackals shedding tears. "My little ones whom I reared with care, why did they fly away too soon? Why was I punished a thousandfold for my bloodguilt?"

Then spoke the faithful shepherd, covered with ashes, wallowing in dust: "The flocks that were entrusted to my care, why were they cut off before their time? Where is Thy pledge: 'They shall not be widowed'?"

The wailing voice of Leah, beating her breast, was then heard: her sister Rachel too bemoaned her sons; Zilpah struck her face; Bilhah lamented, lifting up her hands.

"Return, O perfect ones, unto your rest; I will fulfil all your desires. For your sakes I was sent to Babylon;—I will bring

back your children from captivity." Eleazar Ha-Kalir, Halper.)

THE ROYAL CROWN

I

Wonderful are thy works, as my soul overwhelmingly knoweth.

Thine, O Lord, are the greatness and the might, the beauty and the triumph and the splendour.

Thine, O Lord, is the Kingdom, and Thou art exalted as head over all.

Thine are the riches and honour: Thine the creatures of the heights and depths.

They bear witness that they perish, while Thou endurest.

Thine is the might in whose mystery our thoughts can find no stay, so far art Thou beyond us. . . .

Thine is the loving-kindness that ruleth over all Thy creatures, and the good treasured up for those who fear Thee.

Thine are the mysteries that transcend understanding and thought. . . .

Thine is the existence from the shadow of whose light every being was created,

Of which we say, in His shadow we live.

Thine are the two worlds between which Thou hast set a boundary,

The first for deeds and the second for reward. . . .

II

Thou art One, the first of every number, and the foundation of every structure.

Thou art One, and at the mystery of Thy Oneness the wise of heart are struck dumb,

For they know not what it is.

Thou art One, and Thy Oneness can neither be increased nor lessened,

It lacketh naught, nor doth aught remain over.

Thou art One, but not like a unit to be grasped or counted,
For number and change cannot reach Thee.
Thou art not to be envisaged, nor to be figured thus and thus. . . .

III

Thou existest, but hearing of ear cannot reach Thee, nor vision of eye,
Nor shall the How have sway over Thee, nor the Wherefore and Whence.
Thou existest, but for Thyself and for none other with Thee.
Thou existest, and before Time began Thou wast,
And without place Thou didst abide.
Thou existest, and Thy secret is hidden and who shall attain to it?
"So deep, so deep, who can discover it?"

IV

Thou livest, but not from any restricted season nor from any known period.
Thou livest, but not through breath and soul, for Thou art soul of the soul.
Thou livest, but not with the life of man, which is like unto vanity and its end the moth and the worm.
Thou livest, and he who layeth hold of Thy secret shall find eternal delight:
"He shall eat and live for ever."

V

Thou art great, and compared with Thy greatness all greatness is humbled and all excess diminished.
Incalculably great is Thy being,
Superber than the starry heaven,
Beyond and above all grandeur,
"And exalted beyond all blessing and praise." . . .

VII

Thou art Light celestial, and the eyes of the pure shall behold Thee,
But the clouds of sin shall veil Thee from the eyes of the sinners.
Thou art Light, hidden in this world but to be revealed in the visible world on high. . . .

VIII

Thou art God, and all things formed are Thy servants and worshippers.
Yet is not Thy glory diminished by reason of those that worship aught beside Thee,
For the yearning of them all is to draw nigh Thee,
But they are like the blind,
Setting their faces forward on the King's highway,
Yet still wandering from the path.
One sinketh into the well of a pit,
And another falleth into a snare,
But all imagine they have reached their desire,
Albeit they have suffered in vain.
But Thy servants are as those walking clear-eyed in the straight path,
Turning neither to the right nor the left,
Till they come to the court of the King's palace.
Thou art God, by Thy Godhead sustaining all that hath been formed,
And upholding in Thy Unity all creatures.
Thou art God and there is no distinction betwixt Thy Godhead and Thy Unity, Thy pre-existence and Thy existence,
For 'tis all one mystery,
And although the name of each be different,
"Yet they are all proceeding to one place."

IX

Thou art wise. And wisdom is the fount of life and from Thee it welleth,

And by the side of Thy wisdom all human knowledge turneth to folly.

Thou art wise, more ancient than all primal things,
And wisdom was the nursling at Thy side.

Thou art wise, and Thou hast not learnt from any beside Thee,
Nor acquired wisdom from any save Thyself.

Thou art wise, and from Thy wisdom Thou hast set apart Thy appointed purpose,
Like a craftsman and an artist,
To draw up the films of being from Nothingness
As light is drawn that darteth from the eye:
Without bucket from the fountain of light hath Thy workman drawn it up,
And without tool hath he wrought. . . .

XXIV

Who shall understand the mysteries of Thy creations? For Thou hast exalted above the ninth sphere [1] the sphere of intelligence.

It is the Temple confronting us
"The tenth that shall be sacred to the Lord."
It is the Sphere transcending height,
To which conception cannot reach,
And there stands the veiled palanquin of Thy glory.
From the silver of Truth hast Thou cast it,
And of the gold of Reason hast Thou wrought its arms,
And on a pillar of Righteousness set its cushions,
And from Thy power is its existence,
And from and toward Thee its yearning,
"And unto Thee shall be its desire."
—SOLOMON IBN GABIROL (Israel Zangwill's translation).

[1] In the stanzas of "The Royal Crown" omitted from this anthology is contained an astronomic system similar to that employed by Dante in his *Paradiso*. The poet passes through the nine spheres in crescendo and reaches the tenth, which is the subject of Stanza XXIV. See Zangwill's introductory essay to his translation of ibn Gabirol.—(Tr.)

TO ZION

Art thou not hungry for thy children, Zion,—
Thy sons far-scattered through an alien world?
From earth's four corners, over land and sea,
The heavy-hearted remnant of thy flock
Now send thee greeting: "Know that as the dew
Falls daily on the ancient slopes of Hermon,
So daily on the faces of thy children
Tears of vain-longing fall." And as for me,
When I remember thee, the Desolate,
My voice is like the jackal's in the night,
A wailing and a lamentation old;
But when a dream of resurrection wakes—
A momentary glory—then my voice
Breaks like the harp's into a jubilant ringing.
Thy names are on my lips, and in my heart
Restless desire: Beth-El, Mach'nayim, P'niel—
Assemblies once of the elect—on you
The glory of His name was shed, for you
The gates were open flung, and with a light
Neither of sun, moon, stars, your beauty shone.
Where on the dearest of His chosen ones
God poured His spirit, let me pour my heart.
I will pass to Hebron, where the ancient graves
Still wait for me, and wander in the dusk
Of the forests of Carmel. I will go to Gilead
And from Gilead pass to Habarim and Hor,
And stand upon the summit of the mountains
Where once the unforgotten brothers stood
And the light of them was seen throughout the world.
There let me fall to earth and press my lips
Into the dust, and weep thy desolation
Till I am blind, and, blind, still comfort thee.
I would to God that I were turned to dust
So that the wind could scatter me upon thee.
What comfort is in life for me, since now
Thine eagles have become the prey of vultures?
What pleasure in the light of day, since now

Thy lions, dead, are less than living dogs?
Oh, I can weep no more: enough, the cup
Of bitterness is full and overflows.
O Zion, beauty and gladness of the world,
Thine is all love and grace, and unto thee
In love and grace we are for ever chained.
We who in thy happiness were happy
Are broken in thy desolation. Each
In the prison of his exile bows to earth,
And turns him toward thy gates. Scattered and lost,
We will remember till the end of time
The cradle of our childhood, from a thousand seas
Turn back and seek again thy hills and vales.
Glory of Pathros, glory of Shinar,
Compared to the light and truth that streamed from thee
Are dust and vanity: and in all the world
Whom shall I find to liken to thy seers,
Thy princes, thy elect, thy anointed ones?
The kingdoms of the heathen pass like shadows,
Thy glory and thy name endure for ever.
God made His home in thee: well for the man
Who makes God's choice his own, with thee to dwell.
And happy, happy the man who vigil keeps
Until the day break over thee again,
Until thy chosen are returned to thee,
And thy first youth in glory is renewed.

—JUDAH HA-LEVI.

2. Profane Poetry

FAREWELL TO CORDOVA

The soul is deprived of that which it desires, and that which it asks is withheld from it. Although the body is plump and fed and fat, the glorious soul is not yet satisfied. A humble man walks on the earth, and yet his thoughts reach unto the skies. Of what avail is it to man to have his body's pleasures, while his soul is distressed? Some friends there are who do harm, and profit not; they have big bodies, but

their minds are small. They think that to increase my riches I depart from my dwelling-place, and roam about, though the locks of my hair are dishevelled and mine eye is painted with the colours of the night. My friends know not the secrets of my heart; indeed my friends spoke not knowingly. Their soul knows nought, nor does it understand; it is like the soul of a cloven-footed beast.

Shall he withhold his hand, whose soul is like a moon, and like the moon strives to soar high? And shall he rest until he has girded his loins with her wings, as one girds on a cloth, till his deeds are heard throughout the world and like the ocean is his fame increased?

I swear by God and by His worshippers (assuredly my like shall keep this oath) that I will ascend the rocks on foot, and go down to the deepest pit. The borders of the desert will I join, and cross the ocean in a boat with sails; I shall roam about until I soar and rise to a height that for ever shall be known. With terror shall I then inspire my foes, but my friends shall find salvation in me. The ears of freemen shall I bore through as slaves, and mine ear, too, shall be bored through by my friends.

I have a soul that sustains my friends, but from my adversaries it is withheld. In it there is for thee a garden filled with friendship, planted by the brook of love; it is that friendship which is kept from early youth, like a signet fixed in a ring; it is engraved like the green gravings in a window cut in the door of a palace.

May God be with thee as thou lovest, and may thy soul, which He loves, be redeemed from the hand of foes. May the God of deliverance send thee salvation, till there be no sun and moon. (Samuel ibn Nagdila, Halper.)

ON THE DEATH OF HIS BROTHER

Oh, mourn, my soul, and with a mourning cloak be clad, and put ropes upon thy sackcloth; be gathered to go to the

right and left, awake to wail and to strip off thy train. Sell thy joy forever; it shall never be redeemed, nor shall it have a jubilee. Write a bill of divorcement to rejoicing, take wailing instruments instead of harps. No longer shalt thou dread the wrath of time, nor fear the burning anger of the world; for what more can it do to thee? (Now that my brother is fallen, time is powerless to do me good or to wound me. It smote, and did not spare; it broke all thy strength and glory, as a vessel made of clay. It hurled down thy height with wrath. How canst thou say that thy lot is cast in pleasantness?)

Since my brother is gone, the world is no more wide; it is a prison and the world is like shackles. He that upheld the glory of all things, how is it that his back is now burdened with dust? Because he is gone the sun is the companion of jackals, the moon is the brother of mourning since his death.

Now shall all understand that heaven's host will fade and shrivel as a withering bud. All this shall vanish as a clod of earth, and yet the memory of his glory shall never grow old. When my brother went to the grave, I knew that all creation is but vanity. (Moses ibn Ezra, Halper.)

EPITHALAMIUM IN HONOUR OF SOLOMON BEN MATIR

Is it a scent of myrrh that pervades the air; or a breeze that shakes the myrtles? A cloud, or a great mass of spicery? Lightning, or the sparkling of wine-cups? Is it the clouds that pour out perfumes, or do the drops come from the myrtle-tops? Is it the tongueless mountains that burst forth with joy, or doves and birds on boughs?

The clothing of the earth is inwrought with gold; its coats are made of variegated silk. Its paths are straight to him that treads on them, and mountain ridges have become like plains. The houses jubilantly shout, and the stone from the wall and the wooden beams respond. Erstwhile gloomy faces are now clad with joy, and men of grief are merry and exult. The lips

of stammerers now plainly speak, to build the house of mirth that was destroyed. Indeed mysterious wonders now appear that have been hidden in the heart of time. The tent of glory has now been coupled, hooks have been placed into the loops of praise. Upon the mounts of myrrh have joys been set high, they are assembled on the hills of frankincense. On morning's wings a voice proclaims unto the world (not on swift runners, nor on horses): "Solomon has lovingly betrothed a noble maid," as though the sun and moon had been betrothed. (Moses ibn Ezra, Halper.)

THE SONG OF WATER

When the store of wine was ended
From my weeping eye descended
  Streams of water, streams of water.

From the meat the taste is wrested:
Not the best can be digested
With the board of drink divested—
  Saving water, only water.

Moses a pursuing nation
Doomed to watery damnation:
Now my host in emulation
  Slays with water, slays with water.

See, my song is changed to croaking,
Like the frog in marshes soaking,
With my lips like his invoking
  Gods of water, gods of water.

May the house that with the hated
Element its neighbours fêted
Be forever dedicated
  Unto water, unto water.

—Solomon ibn Gabirol.

PARTING

If parting be decreed for the two of us,
Stand yet a little while I gaze upon thy face. . . .

By the life of love, remember the days of thy longing,
As I remember the nights of thy delight.
As thine image passeth into my dreams,
So let me pass, I entreat thee, into thy dreams,
Between me and thee roar the waves of a sea of tears
And I cannot pass over unto thee.
But O, if thy steps should draw nigh to cross—
Then would its waters be divided at the touch of thy foot.
Would that after my death unto mine ears should come
The sound of the golden bells upon thy skirts!
Or shouldst thou be asking how fareth thy beloved, I from the depths of the tomb
Would ask of thy love and thy welfare.
Verily, to the shedding of mine heart's blood
There be two witnesses, thy cheeks and thy lips.
How sayest thou it is not true, since these be my witnesses
For my blood, and that thine hands have shed it?
Why desirest thou my death, whilst I but desire
To add years unto the years of thy life?
Though thou dost rob my slumber in the night of my longing,
Would I not give the sleep of mine eyes unto thy eyelids? . . .
Yea, between the bitter and the sweet standeth my heart—
The gall of parting, and the honey of thy kisses.
After thy words have beaten out my heart into thin plates,
Thine hands have cut it into shreds.
It is the likeness of rubies over pearls
What time I behold thy lips over thy teeth.
The sun is on thy face and thou spreadest out the night
Over his radiance with the clouds of thy locks.
Fine silk and broidered work are the covering of thy body,
But grace and beauty are the covering of thine eyes.
The adornment of maidens is the work of human hands,
But thou—majesty and sweetness are thine adornment. . . .
In the field of the daughters of delight, the sheaves of love

Make obeisance unto thy sheaf. . . .
I cannot hear thy voice, but I hear
Upon the secret places of my heart, the sound of thy steps.
On the day when thou wilt revive
The victims whom love for thee hath slain—on the day when thy dead shall live anew,
Then turn again to my soul to restore it to my body; for on the day
Of thy departure, when thou wentest forth, it went out after thee.

—JUDAH HA-LEVI (Nina Salaman's translation).

THE WOLF AND THE ANIMALS

The wolf, the chief noble after His Majesty the Lion, played havoc among the animals, robbing and slaughtering at will until the animals whose families had suffered came together and complained before the King, and cried unto him. The King called the wolf before him, and said, in anger: "From now on content yourself, for meat, with the dead bodies you find in the forest. But in punishment of your crimes, I forbid you to taste any meat for the next two years."

The wolf promised to obey.

A few days later, being assailed by great hunger, he saw a lamb passing through the field, and his thoughts were in conflict within him. The lamb was tender and good to eat, and the wolf thought, "How is it possible to keep the command of the King, not to kill any living thing? I am forbidden to eat any meat for two years. I have sworn to obey the King, and I must not turn from my oath. But what is day and what is night? When I close my eyes it is night, and when I open my eyes it is day." And he closed his eyes and opened his eyes, and it was one day.

And he did thus to the number of the days there are in two years, and said: "The two years have passed." And he fell upon the lamb and killed it and ate it.

The moral is, that he who is accustomed to rob and slay

will find a way out of any oath he has taken. (Berachya ben Natronia, *Fables.*)

IN PRAISE OF CHARITY

And when the old man had heard their words, he said to them: "All of you are astray, and walk in darkness, and know not how to choose the truth. For all the virtues lie at her feet (Charity), and she is greater than all of them. She causes all sins to be forgiven, and turns hatred away from hearts. Through her man reaches all of his desires, though they be far, though they be in the heavens. Because of her a man shall be numbered among the just, and through her he achieves goodness and justice. With her he purchases himself a good name, and his memory is like a good ointment. And he that lacketh charity, his righteousness is not righteousness, his goodness is error and his virtue is sin. His comrades shall despise him and his acquaintances shall hate him, and his friends shall remember him for evil, and he shall be as a stranger in his own household. But the man of charity shall lift up his face, for his charity shall cover all his sins, and shall wipe out all his transgressions. His adversaries shall love him and his enemies shall praise him, the envious shall praise him and those that curse shall bless him. For with his charity he conquers their hearts, and draws out their love." (Judah al-Charizi, *Tachkemoni,* XIX.)

HOMAGE TO DANTE [1]

When we ascended the steps of Eden, we saw wonderful things, for there were set lofty and exalted thrones that appeared to my sight exceedingly marvellous, so that the eye could not be satisfied with seeing. Among them was one throne, the radiance of which filled the world with splendour; it was

[1] Tradition has it that this poem alludes to Dante, who was the friend of Emmanuel of Rome, and whose Divine Comedy the latter imitated.

like the work of bright sapphire, and like the very heavens for clearness. The footstool of it had long edges, and the bright metal thereof flashed continually. I longed to sit upon it and I said: "I pray thee, my lord, for whom is this honoured and pleasant throne, and for whom is the footstool of image-work?" And he said unto me, "As thou livest, this throne is prepared for the mightiest of the shepherds, and for him it shall be; that is Judah, the lion's whelp, who prevailed above his brethren. . . . And thou shalt sit near him, and shalt be close unto him."

And it came to pass, when I had heard these words, that I remembered the rank of Daniel,[1] my brother, who had led me in the right way, and directed my path, and who had been near me when I fled. He is the holy plate of the crown upon my forehead, the life of my flesh and the breath of my spirit. I thought of the full account of his greatness, of his generosity and excellence, of his prudence and understanding, of his humility and righteousness, and of his renown which fills the ends of the earth.

I then said unto the man that held my right hand, "I pray thee, my lord, show me the place of Daniel and his habitation; what manner of house do you build for him, and what is his place of rest?" And he said unto me: "Know of a certainty that his rank is very high, and that the ends of the earth are full of his renown; even thy rank is too low to reach him. For he bore the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors. But because the Highest Wisdom knew that without thee he would find no rest and no repose, it placed thy booth near his booth, though thy worth is less than his; for the Highest Wisdom knew that he will have delight in thy company: he would be Moses and thou wouldst be Joshua unto him; in order that all may declare, as it is said: Your souls are united, they cling together and cannot be sundered." (Emmanuel of Rome, Halper.)

[1] This is presumably Dante.

Chapter IV

TRADITION AND LIFE

1. The Moralists

REFLECTIONS AND ADMONITIONS

O MY soul, run to and fro through the streets of thy understanding, and go about the chambers of thy wisdom, and come unto the structure of the building of thy imagery, whose foundation is in dust; is it not a despised body and carcase trodden under foot? It is formed out of a troubled fountain and a corrupted spring, built of a fetid drop; it is burned with fire, it is cut down. It is an unformed substance resembling a worm, it is nought but terror. It is kept in a foul womb, closed up in an impure belly; it is born with pangs and sorrows to see trouble and vanities. All day long it covets pleasures, and departs from instruction and from commandments; it comes in the dark and goes away in the dark; it is a poor, needy and destitute wayfarer. It has no knowledge without thee, and no understanding beside thee. While alive, it is dust, and when it dies, it is ashes. As long as it lives, worms surround it, and its end comes, vermin and clods of dust cover it. It cannot discern between its right hand and its left hand; its lot is hidden in the ground. Go thou, therefore, and reign over it, for sovereignty is meet unto the children of wisdom, and the foolish are servants unto the wise of heart. . . .

Therefore hearken, I pray thee, and consider, and incline thine ear; forget thy people and thy father's house. Arise, sing unto thy King all thy day and all thy night; lift up thy hands toward Him, and bow down unto Him with thy face to

the ground; let thine eyelids gush out with waters, and kneel thou upon thy knees; the King may perchance desire thy beauty, and lift up His countenance unto thee and give thee peace. (Bachya ibn Pakuda, *Duties of the Heart.*)

COUNSEL

In thirteen places, in the Pentateuch are found commands to love God; the spirit which is given to the love of God serves the Creator even when violence is exerted against its service. At such a time man is filled with ardent desire to follow the will of God, and joy in the Lord brings oblivion of earthly pleasures; he that loves God takes no longer pride in his wife and his child. He thinks of nothing but how to fulfil the will and commandments of God, to glorify His name and to offer his life as a sacrifice. Such men do not overestimate their own value, waste not their breath in foolish conversation, desire not the countenance of women, listen silently to abuse—for their thoughts are with Him to whom their lips sing praise. . . .

Let your imaginings be chaste, even as your deeds. Flee from the indecent, and give it neither eye nor ear; pleasure will sunder thee from God. Remember therefore thy Creator in the days of thy youth, thy Father who created thee, nourished thee and clad thee and show Him not ingratitude through impurity of thoughts. Shut thy heart against envy, which kills men before their time; envy only the good qualities of men, and learn to imitate what is good in them. Keep the peace within and without the city, for it is well with all them that counsel peace; be honest, deceive none through dissimulation, smooth words and untruth. Man dies before his time because of practising deceit; but God the Eternal is a God of truth; He first created truth. Be silent in reverence, for out of much speech is bound to come sin. But when thou speakest, speak truth, praise not thyself, and be modest. Eleazar ben Judah, *Rokeach.*)

2. The Apologists

LETTER TO AN APOSTATE

I have received a letter which to me remains dark and baffling; from part of it I have understood only this much—that my ancestors have lived in pitiful error. With great difficulty I managed to deduce this much; the Holy Spirit must have brooded over thee whilst thou wrotest. "Blessed be the Messiah, who has given thee an understanding heart and an attentive ear . . . he speaks folly who says that love and law are two lights; understanding hath nothing to do with conclusions and proofs. . . . Faith alone mounts upwards, and he that denies it descends to hell. . . .

"Be not therefore like thy fathers, who believed in one God, from whom they divorced all plurality, who erred in that sentence: 'Hear O Israel, the Lord Thy God the Lord is One,' but who in that unity did not understand a unity arising out of union, of relationship, of joining, or a unity whereto such could be attributed. Do not you believe this, but believe rather one is three and three are one . . . inwardly and essentially united, that which the lips cannot utter and the ear cannot grasp. Be not therefore like your fathers, who held that God is changeless, and wrongly quoted in proof the verse: I, the Lord, change not; who thought He could not be incorporated in any body or in any thought, who saw in him, by philosophic speculation, only pure spirit. . . . Be not so: beware of thinking it impossible for Him to embody Himself; believe, rather, that He, or one of His three selves, became flesh when He desired that His blood should be shed for the sins of his people. Thank Him that he suffered death to save you; His wisdom had found no other kind of salvation for you. . . . Be not like your fathers, who conducted many philosophic inquiries into the nature of Paradise, the four rivers, the tree of knowledge, the serpent and the aprons of skin. Be not so: take everything rather in a

literal sense, so that you may see man crushed under the burden of original sin, unable to rise thereunder, until his Savior come and rescue him, that the punishment whereof no mention whatsoever is made in Scripture might cease—and the punishment of which specific mention is made might continue. Hold fast, then, to this mystery of the soul's punishment, revealed by the chief of the Apostles, whose name, Paul, was even that of your teacher; great will your reward be because you are completely of the faith. Be not like your fathers, who gave themselves up greatly to philosophy, physics, logic, mathematics, seeking to discover truth through these channels. Be not so! Far be it from you to hold as true the very first conclusion taught by logic, if this must lead to the denial of your faith; for you must come to this conclusion: God is the Father, God is the Son, therefore the Father is the Son. Do not accept, either, that which is held as an axiom in mathematics, namely, that the great and the little are not alike, and that a number is the sum of its units; for your faith teaches you that the larger body of the Messiah is equal to the small Host and is contained therein. Believe rather that the whole world could be contained in a mustard-seed, and that the various bodies of the Messiah, whereof there are thousands, one in each Host, are not a plurality, but still do constitute one and the same unit. And do not be misled, either, by the first principles of physics; wherefrom it appears that motion must take place in time, but that motion and rest cannot belong simultaneously to the same body; believe rather that the body of the Messiah descends from heaven upon the Altar, whereas He still remains in heaven above. He descends at the wonderful word of the priest who, in fact, need not be a High Priest, but may be great or small, wise or foolish, good or evil, God-fearing or sinful—for the essential power lies in the word, which was passed on from the lips of the Messiah through his prophets and sages, pupils and apostles. Hold fast to

this faith, which will bring you eternal felicity." (*The Letter of Prophiat Duran.*)

CONCERNING USURY

As regards usury, this vice is not Jewish in its nature, for though some Jews may be found in Germany who practise it, yet the Jews who have fled from Spain and have found refuge in Turkey, Italy, Hamburg and Holland, avoid the practice of it. They extend loans on a small profit of four or five per cent to Christians, for the lending of money without any profit whatsoever is only enjoined upon them in regard to their fellow Jews, not in regard to those of other nations. Nevertheless, there is no limitation on the practice of this benevolence. It is in the nature of things that each one should try to use his money to the best advantage, and to make a living therefrom. When a merchant takes over a consignment of goods, on which he expects to make profit, paying therefor with money borrowed, it is not wrong for the lender of the money to demand a share of the profits, for just as no one is obligated to give away his wealth to strangers, so is no one obligated to dedicate usufruct to strangers, but if he lends it he must receive some compensation, which he might in any case have obtained with his own money. But this must be practised, of course, with due moderation, so that the percentage does not overstep the mark, and no treachery is practised, as often happens between one Christian and another, as, for instance, in the case of the charitable brothers of Padua, Vicenza and Verona, where they lend on things in pawn at a rate of six per cent and more at their institutes. This cannot, however, be called robbery, inasmuch as the borrowers enter of their free will upon the contract. That very Scripture which permits the taking of interest from those that are of another religion, specifically prohibits robbing, betraying or overreaching any

man, to whatsoever religion he may belong. It is a much greater trespass, according to our religion, to rob or betray the member of another faith, than to do so to one of our own faith, for the Jew is bidden to show humanity toward every human being, and has been commanded to hate neither the Idumean nor the Egyptian, and to love and protect the stranger who is within his gates. But if some are found who act against this law, they do so not as Jews, but as worthless creatures, as usurers and wretches are found among every people. (Menassah Ben Israel, *Letter to the English Republic.*)

RITUAL MURDER

With regard to the accusation of ritual murder against the Jews, it is relevant to recall what is reported concerning the negroes of New Guinea and Brazil, who, when they see an unhappy man helpless upon the sea, or who has suffered shipwreck or some such mischance, they persecute and torture him all the more therefor, for they state that he is accursed of God. We certainly do not dwell among blacks or barbarians, but among the white and civilized peoples of the world, yet we have found it true that he that is unfortunate rouses contempt and bad opinion, just as he that is fortunate, on the contrary, is well regarded. This much the Christians themselves have experienced. During the repressions and the persecutions in Rome, they were falsely calumniated. Nero accused them that they had set fire to Rome. Others accused them of being sorcerers and exorcisers, others accused them of killing the children of heathens in order to use them at their ceremonies, as may be seen from various authors. The attitude toward the Jews is the same, for they are scattered and oppressed, whatever wealth they may possess. There is no accusation, there are no calumnies which are not uttered against them, even down to that old and pitiful accusation that they make use of the blood of Christian chil-

dren. Every one can easily understand that this is the purest calumny, for every one knows that they no longer make use of blood or sacrifice; even the drop of blood which is found in the egg is forbidden them, much more so the blood of a human being. . . . I do not wish to expatiate on this subject. I would only recall that a Pope, in full council, has declared the accusation to be false. The princes of Italy have pronounced a similar judgment, as also Alfonso the Wise, King of Spain, to the effect that it is a pure invention, in order to furnish excuses to confiscate the possessions of the Jews. (*Ibid.*)

3. Customs and Ceremonies

WEDDINGS

At the time agreed upon, the bridegroom and the bride are conducted under a canopy into a hall or chamber, with music, and some have little boys with torches in their hands, to sing before them. When the people are come in, they put one of those square veils called a *talith,* with fringes upon it, over the heads of both bridegroom and bride. The Rabbis of the place, or the cantor of the synagogue, or the nearest relative, takes a cup of wine in his hand, and after he has blessed God for having created man and woman and instituted matrimony, he gives both the bridegroom and the bride some to drink. Then the bridegroom puts the ring on the bride's finger, in the presence of two witnesses, who are usually Rabbis; and the bridegroom says: "Behold, with this thou art my wife according to the law of Moses and of Israel." Then they read the writing of the dowries, in which the bridegroom obligates himself, in consideration of the dowry he has received, to maintain her, live with her, etc., and pledges himself to the performance of these in writing. They then take another vessel of wine, and sing six other benedictions, which make seven in all, and give the newly married

couple some of the wine to drink, and pour the rest upon the ground, in token of mirth. They then give the empty cup into the bridegroom's hand, who dashes it against the ground as hard as he can, and breaks it: the meaning of which is, to mix with their mirth the remembrance of death, which breaks us to pieces like glass, and thus we are reminded not to be too proud. At that instant all the people cry out *mazol tob,* which means *good luck.* (Leon de Modena, *Customs and Ceremonies.*)

OF DEATH AND BURIAL

When any one is dead, they lay the corpse upon the ground, wrapped up in a sheet, with the face covered, and set a wax candle at the head, placed in a pitcher or an earthen vessel full of ashes. Soon after, they set about the making of the linen drawers for the deceased, and send for people to help them. The women, for the most part, account it a deed of charity to help in such a case. Then they wash the body well with hot water, which has camomile and dried roses in it, and put on him a good shirt, and the drawers; to which some add a little vest of fine linen and his *talith,* and a white bonnet upon his head. Thus he is put into a coffin made to fit him, with a white linen cloth under him and another above him; and if he be a person of note, they make his coffin sharp-pointed; and if a Rabbi, they lay a great many books upon the coffin, which is covered with a black cloth, and so they carry it out of the house. Then all the people round about come together, and, because they count it a very meritorious work, they accompany the deceased, carry him to the grave, and every one puts his shoulder to the coffin, and so they take it by turns. In some places they carry lighted torches after the corpse, and sing mournful songs, and in other places it is not so. The relatives follow after the corpse, in mourning.

Thus they convey him to a burial-place, which is always

a field set apart for the same purpose, and they call it the *Beth Chayim,* or house of the living, reckoning the dead to be alive, in respect of their souls. When they have set him down, if he be a person of credit, there is one that makes an oration in commendation of him. Then they say certain prayers, which begin with the words of Deuteronomy 32, "He is the rock, His work is perfect; for all His ways are judgment." Then they put a little bag of earth under his head, and, having nailed up the coffin, they carry him to his grave, which is a pit made fit for him near the place where the rest of his relatives lie buried. In some countries, when they have set the coffin near the grave, ten persons go round the coffin seven times, saying a prayer for the soul of the deceased, but in other places this is not practiced. Then the nearest kinsman rends his clothes a little, and they put the deceased into the grave, and every one comes and throws a shovelful or a handful of earth upon him till he is quite covered. . . . As they come away from the grave each one plucks up two or three handfuls of grass, which he throws behind him, saying, in the words of the Psalmist, "And they of the city shall flourish like the grass of the earth," in token of the resurrection. (Leon de Modena, *Customs and Ceremonies.*)

4. The Community

THE POLISH SYNOD

Under this king the Jews in Poland introduced (1586-1592) an institution which had not existed in that particular form in Jewish history. It gave the Polish communities extraordinary unity, firmness and strength, and hence secured respect both from their members and outsiders. Hitherto it had naturally come about that, at the meeting of Rabbis and heads of schools with their followers at the great fairs, important questions were discussed, law cases were settled, and

general consultations took place. The utility of such meetings may have become clearly apparent, and given rise to the idea of arranging regular conferences of the heads of communities, to draw up final, binding decisions. Both leaders and communities must have been actuated by a healthy spirit in agreeing to common action. The communities of the chief provinces, Little Poland, Greater Poland and Russia, were the first to unite in instituting conferences (Vaad) at regular intervals, to take place at the great fairs of Lublin and Jaroslav. The communities sent delegates, learned men of proved excellence, who had a seat and a vote in the synod. They chose a president, who directed the discussion of questions, and drew up a report of the session. Disputes in the communities, questions of taxation, religious and social regulations, the averting of threatened dangers, and help to brethren in distress, were the main points treated by the synods, and settled finally. The synods also exercised a literary censorship by granting permission for certain books to be printed and sold, and refusing it in the case of others which seemed to them harmful. Probably the Lithuanian Jews were represented at a later period, and the synods were called the Synods of the Four Countries (Vaad Arba Arazoth). These conferences had a very beneficial effect: they prevented long-standing dissensions, averted or punished acts of injustice, kept alive a feeling of union amongst the communities, directing them towards common action, thereby counteracting the narrowness and selfishness of merely local interests, which so greatly encouraged the dismemberment and isolation of communities, as, for example, in Germany. On this account the synod of Polish Jews was respected even abroad; and distant German communities or private individuals who had any complaint to make, applied to these supreme assemblies, certain to obtain relief. It is to the glory of the men who, for nearly two hundred years, presided over the synods, that their names, worthy of the remembrance of posterity, remained in obscurity, as though

they had consciously suppressed their individualities in favour of the community at large. Still less is known of the originators of this institution, who succeeded in the difficult task of overcoming the anarchic tendency of the people, as Jews and as Poles, and of inducing them to subordinate themselves to one great end. (Graetz.)

DECADENCE

The study of the Talmud in Poland, established by Shachna, Solomon Luria, and Moses Isserles, reached a pitch attained at no previous time, nor in any other country. The demand for copies of the Talmud was so great that in less than twenty years three editions had to be printed, no doubt in thousands of copies. The study of the Talmud was a greater necessity in Poland than in the rest of Europe. . . .

It would be tedious to enumerate the rabbinical authors of Poland in the first half of the seventeenth century. The cultivation of a single faculty, that of hair-splitting judgment, at the cost of the rest, narrowed the imagination, hence not a single literary product appeared in Poland deserving the name of poetry. All the productions of the Polish school bore the Talmudical stamp, as the school regarded everything from the Talmudical point of view. The disciples of this school looked down almost with contempt on Scripture and its simple grandeur, or rather it did not exist for them. How, indeed, could they have found time to occupy themselves with it? And what could they do with these children's stories, which did not admit of the application of intellectual subtlety? They knew something of the Bible from the extracts read in the synagogues, and those occasionally quoted in the Talmud. The faculty for appreciating the sublimity of biblical doctrines and characters, as well as simplicity and elevation in general, was denied them. A love of twisting, distorting, ingenious quibbling, and a foregone antipathy to

what did not lie within their field of vision, constituted the character of the Polish Jews. Pride in their knowledge of the Talmud and a spirit of dogmatism attached even to the best Rabbis, and undermined their moral sense. The Polish Jews of course were extraordinarily pious, but even their piety rested on sophistry and boastfulness. Each wished to surpass the other in knowledge of what the Code prescribed for one case or another. Thus religion sank, not merely, as among Jews of other countries, to a mechanical, unintelligent ceremonial, but to a subtle art of interpretation. (Graetz.)

THE SECT OF THE CHASSIDIM

There arose in Poland a new Essenism, with forms similar to those of the ancient cult, with ablutions and baths, white garments, miraculous cures, and prophetic visions. Like the old movement, it originated in ultra-piety, but soon turned against its own parent, and perhaps hides within itself germs of a peculiar kind, which, being in course of development, cannot be defined. . . .

The founder of the new Chassidim was Israel of Miedziboz (born about 1698; died 1759). . . . He received, alike from his admirers and his antagonists, the surname of "The Wonder-worker by means of Invocations in the Name of God," Baal-shem or Baal-Shemtob, in the customary abbreviated form, Besht. . . . The experiences of Israel's youth are unknown. So much, however, is certain; he was left an orphan, poor and neglected, early in life, and passed a great portion of his youth in the forests and caves of the Carpathian mountains. The spurs of the Carpathian hills were his teachers. Here he learnt what he would not have acquired in the dark, narrow, dirty hovels called schools in Poland—namely, to understand the tongue which nature speaks. The spirits of the mountains and the fountains whispered secrets to him. Here he also learned, probably from the peasant women who gathered herbs on the mountain-

tops and on the edges of rivers, the use of plants as remedies. As they did not trust to the healing power of nature, but added conjurations and invocations to good and evil spirits, Israel also accustomed himself to this method of cure. He became a miracle-doctor. Necessity, too, was his teacher; it taught him to pray. How often, in his forsaken and orphaned condition, may he have suffered from want even of dry bread, how often may he have been surrounded by real or imaginary dangers! In his distress he prayed in the usual forms of the synagogue; but he spoke his words with fervor and intense devotion, or cried them aloud in the solitude of the mountains. His audible prayer awakened the echoes of the mountains, which appeared as an answer to his supplications. He seems to have been often in a state of rapture, and to have induced this condition by frantic movements of the whole body while praying. This agitation drove the blood to his head, made his eyes glitter, and brought both body and soul into such a condition of overexcitement that he felt a deadly weakness come over him. Was this magnetic tension of the soul caused by the motions and the shoutings, singing and praying? . . .

It would have been a remarkable thing if such a wonder-doctor, who appeared to have intercourse with the spirit world, had not found adherents, but he can hardly have designed the formation of a new sect. He was joined by persons of a similar disposition to his own, who felt a religious impulse, which could not be satisfied, they thought, by a rigorous, penitential life, or by mechanical repetition of prescribed prayers. They joined Israel, in Miedziboz, to pray with devotion, i.e., in a singsong tune, clapping their hands, bowing, jumping, gesticulating, and uttering cries. . . .

It became the fashion in neo-Chassidean circles to scoff at the Talmudists. Because the latter mocked at the unlearned chief of the new order, who had a following without belonging to the guild of Talmudists, without having been initiated into the Talmud and its appendages, the Chassidim

deprecated the study of the Talmud, avowing that it was not able to promote a truly godly life. Covert war existed between the neo-Chassidim and the Rabbinites; the latter could not, however, harm their opponents so long as Israel's adherents did not depart from existing Judaism. After the death of the founder, when barbarism and degeneracy increased, the feud grew into a complete rupture under Beer of Mizricz.

Dob Beer (or Berish) was no visionary like Israel, but possessed the faculty of clear insight into the condition of men's minds. He was thus able to render the mind and will of others subservient to him. Although he joined the new movement only a short time before Israel's death, yet, whether at his suggestion or not, Israel's son and sons-in-law were passed over, and Beer was made Israel's successor in the leadership of the neo-Chassidean community. Beer, who transferred the centre to Mizricz—a village in Volhynia—was superior to his master in many points. He was well read in Talmudical and Kabbalistic writings, was a fluent preacher (Maggid) who, to further his purpose, could make the most far-fetched biblical verses, as also Haggadic and Zoharic expressions, harmonize and thus surprise his audience. He removed from the Chassidim the stigma of ignorance, especially disgraceful in Poland, and secured an accession of supporters. He had a commanding appearance, did not mingle with the people, but lived the whole week secluded in a small room—only accessible to his confidants—and thus acquired the renown of mysterious intercourse with the heavenly world. Only on the Sabbath did he show himself to all who longed to be favoured with the sight of him. On this day he appeared splendidly attired in satin, his outer garment, his shoes, and even his snuff-box being white, the colour signifying grace in the Kabbalistic language. On this day, in accordance with the custom introduced by Israel Besht, he offered up prayers together with his friends, with the new strangers who had made a pilgrimage to him, with the new members, and those

curious to see the Kabbalistic saint and wonder-worker. . . .

In order to strengthen respect for him, Beer propounded a theory, which in its logical application is calculated to promote most harmful consequences. Supported by the Kabbalistic formula, that "the righteous or the pious man is the foundation of the world," he magnified the importance of the Zaddik, or the Chassidean chief, to such an extent that it became blasphemy. "A Zaddik is not alone the most perfect and sinless human being, he is not alone Moses, but the representative of God and His image." All and everything that the Zaddik does and thinks has a decided influence upon the upper and lower world. The Deity reveals Himself especially in the acts of the Zaddik; even his most trifling deeds are to be considered important. . . . In his "Stübel," or "Hermitage," i.e., in his dirty little retired chamber, he considered himself as great as the papal vicar of God upon earth in his magnificent palace. The Zaddik was also to bear himself proudly towards men; all this was "for the glory of God." It was a sort of Catholicism within Judaism. (Graetz.)

THE GAON[1] [GENIUS] OF WILNA

Earnest men, also, desirous of satisfying their spiritual wants, felt themselves attracted to the Chassidim. Rabbinical Judaism, as known in Poland, offered no sort of religious comfort. Its representatives placed the highest value upon the dialectic, artificial exposition of the Talmud and its commentaries. Actual necessity had besides caused that portion of the Talmud which treated of civil law to be closely studied, as the rabbis exercised civil jurisdiction over their flocks. Fine-spun decisions of new complicated legal points occupied the doctors of the Talmud day and night. Moreover, this hair-splitting was considered sublimest piety, and

[1] More exactly, the word Gaon once meant the head of one of the great Babylonian Academies.—(Tr.)

superseded everything else. If any one solved an intricate Talmudic question, or discovered something new, called Torah, he felt self-satisfied and assured of his felicity hereafter. All other objects, the impulse to devotion, prayer, and emotion, or interest in the moral condition of the community, were secondary matters, to which scarcely any attention was paid. The mental exercise of making logical deductions from the Talmud, or more correctly from the laws of Mine and Thine, choked all other intellectual pursuits in Poland. Religious ceremonies had degenerated, both amongst Talmudists and the unlearned, into meaningless usages, and prayer into mere lip-service. To men of feeling this aridity of Talmudic study, together with the love of debate, and the dogmatism and pride of the rabbis arising from it, were repellent, and they flung themselves into the arms of the new order, which allowed so much play for the fancy and the emotions. . . .

The first violent attack upon them was made by a man whose influence was blessed during his lifetime and even after death, and who, in a more favorable environment, might, like Mendelssohn, have effected much for the moral advancement of his coreligionists. Elijah Wilna (born 1720; died 1797), whose name, with the title of "Gaon," is still mentioned by the Lithuanian Jews with reverence and love, was a rare exception among the mass of the Polish Jews. He was of the purest character and possessed high talents, which he did not put to perverted uses. . . .

He beheld in the Chassidic aberration a continuation of Frank's excesses and corrupting influence. The otherwise gentle and meek man became a veritable fanatic. The Rabbis and chiefs of the community, together with Elijah Wilna, addressed a letter to all the large communities, directing them to keep a sharp eye upon the Chassidim, and to excommunicate them until they abandoned their erroneous views. Several congregations immediately obeyed this injunction. In Brody, during the fair, in the presence of many strangers, the ban was published against all those who prayed noisily,

deviated from the German synagogue ritual, wore white robes on Sabbath and the festivals, and were guilty of other strange customs and innovations. Elijah Wilna's circle launched a vigorous denunciatory pamphlet against the offenders. This was the first blow that the Chassidim experienced. (Graetz.)

5. The New Spirit

THE NEW SPIRIT IN THEOLOGY

I recognize among the eternal truths only those which can be not merely conceived but proved and established by human reason. It is a false estimation of Judaism which would assume that in order to reach this conclusion I must set myself at variance with the religion of my fathers; indeed, I would rather believe that this is the essential characteristic of Judaism, and that this characteristic separates it from Christianity. In brief: as I see it, the Jews know nothing of *revealed religion* but only of a *revealed law.* They have laws, commands, precepts, injunctions, instructions in keeping with the Divine Will, which teach them how to conduct themselves if they wish to achieve happiness in this world and in the world to come, but there are no dogmas, no articles of faith, no fundamental doctrines. . . . More, the Hebrew word which it is customary to render by the word "faith" actually means, more often, "confidence" or "trust," a calm belief in the fulfilment of promises made: "Abraham *trusted* in the Lord" [Gen. 15: 6]; "The Children of Israel saw and *trusted* in the Eternal and in Moses, his servant." [Ex. 14: 31]. . . . In no place do we find it said: *"Believe,* Israel, and it will be well with thee: *doubt not,* and thou shalt not be punished." (Moses Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem.*)

THE BIBLE IN THE VULGAR TONGUE

When God blessed me with sons, and the time came to instruct them in the Torah and to bring them near to the word of God, I undertook, first for my own children, to translate the Pentateuch, the Five Books of Moses, into pure and correct German, as it is spoken to-day. I made the translation literal, word for word, side by side with the text, according to the general context, so that they might not only understand the original, but that they might imbibe the delicacy of the spirit, the fine shades, until they could of themselves enjoy the original. By the will of God, there came to my acquaintance the learned Solomon von Dubnow to whom I entrusted the only son left me (God strengthen him in learning and in reverence) that he might take daily lessons from him in Hebrew. When this Rabbi learned of my translation, it found grace in his eyes, and he thought well of it. He urged me to publish it for the benefit of students. . . . I gave my consent. (Moses Mendelssohn, *Preface to the German Translation of the Pentateuch.*)

THE TEACHING OF THE SECULAR SCIENCES

Though I do not consider a knowledge of the natural and secular sciences indispensable, yet I consider them useful to the plain man, the more so to those who are learned in the sacred lore—and that for four reasons.

First, the study of the natural sciences on the part of the pure-minded cannot but add to the fear of God and His glory, for these sciences open the mind of man, make him understand the greatness of God and His power, and reveal the infinite ways of His compassion and His control of all things; such is the science of the heavenly bodies, which teaches us concerning the celestial lights. . . .

Secondly, many of the sciences are related to the laws of the Torah, as, for example, the science of seasons, on which

depend the blessings of the new months, the determination of the festivals and the length of the years.

Thirdly, these sciences are an ornament in themselves; he that possesses them, and can transmit them to others, is honoured among the honourable. . . .

And lastly it must be understood that the days in which we live are not like the days of the past. Our forefathers lived on their own soil, and possessed their heritage of vineyards and fields, which we have not in our exile. For, in this exile, the glory of Israel has been diminished, and we must therefore lay strong hold on whatsoever can provide us with an honourable livelihood, for fear that we may be reduced to beg from others; and in that we shall not fall under the burden of misery, which leads to the abandonment of the Torah and of the divine commandments. (Hartwig Wessely, *Words of Peace and Truth,* Ch. VIII and XII.)

THE NEW SPIRIT OF SOCIETY

It is remarkable to note how this prejudice [against the Jews] takes on the image of the various centuries, for our oppression. . . . In times past we were accused of sacrilege against the things they held holy. . . . But now the times have changed, and accusations of this nature would no longer produce the desired impression. And now they turn round and accuse us precisely of superstition and folly, of a lack of moral sentiment, lack of taste and good manners, lack of aptitude for the arts, science and useful trades, and particularly lack of service in war and for the state, an unconquerable weakness for treachery, swindling and lawlessness, and these accusations now take the place of the grosser accusations of former times, in order that we may cease to be reckoned among useful citizens and may be denied the benefits of the State. Of old they exerted every effort, not to make good citizens of us, but to convert us to Christianity, and since we were too obstinate and stiff-necked to permit this,

they regarded us simply as useless encumberers of the earth, and to the outcasts they attributed all the ugly qualities which hate and contempt could suggest. But the zeal of conversion has disappeared. We are completely neglected. The effort is made to keep us remote from the acquisition of all arts, sciences and useful occupations; they block the road of useful improvement, and then punish us because we lack what they prevent us from acquiring. They bind our hands, and then reproach us with doing nothing. (Mendelssohn, Preface to Menasseh Ben Israel's *Salvation of the Jews.*)

THE NEW SPIRIT IN THE COMMUNITY

I am confident that the more enlightened and pious of our Rabbis and elders will gladly relinquish so dangerous a privilege, will give up their complete control of all synagogal and religious ceremonies, and show the same love and tolerance toward their brothers as they themselves have sighed for. Oh, my brothers, too keenly have you felt the bitter yoke of intolerance, and perhaps you have found some compensation in exerting against those who were within your jurisdiction the pressure which you suffered from. Vengeance always seeks satisfaction, and when it can find nothing else to feed upon, it will feed upon itself. Perhaps the general example misleads you. All the nations of the world seem to have been afflicted with this madness, believing that religion can only be established by a rule of iron, that the teaching of salvation can be spread only by persecution, and that God, who is love, can be brought to mankind by hate. You have perhaps let yourselves be led astray, and this belief in might, which you have imbibed from others, is perhaps the greatest evil you have suffered at the hands of your persecutors. Give thanks to God, the God of your fathers, who is love itself, that this madness is disappearing step by step. The nations are learning to bear with one another, and are beginning to show signs of love and mercy toward you too,

which in time may fill the hearts of men with true brotherly affection. Oh, my brothers, follow the example of love, as you have till now followed the example of hate. Imitate the virtues of the nations, whose vices you have till now thought it your duty to imitate. Would you be respected, tolerated and spared by others, then show respect and tolerance among yourselves. Love, and you will be loved. (Moses Mendelssohn, Preface to *Salvation of the Jews.*)

THE MODERN EPOCH

The Modern Epoch

CHRONOLOGY

A.D.

1791. The National Assembly votes, and Louis XVI ratifies, the complete emancipation of the Jews of France.

1796. Emancipation of the Jews of Holland.

1807. The Great Sanhedrin, convoked by Napoleon I, defines the status of the Jews in the modern state.

1826. Emancipation of the Jews of Maryland. Ukase issued in Russia calling for the levy and seizure of young Jewish children to be separated from their families and brought up in the Christian faith and in the military service.

1835. Edict of Nicholas I, founding the first Jewish agricultural colonies of Russia.

1840. Ritual murder accusation in Damascus. Denial in a firman of the Sultan.

1848. Emancipation of the Jews of the various States of Central Europe.

1849. Lionel Rothschild elected to the British House of Commons.

1858. Edgar Mortara, baptized without his parents' knowledge by a Catholic servant, is torn from his family by the Bishop of Ancona, his family claiming him in vain from the Pope.

1863. Emancipation of the Jews of Switzerland.

1866. The Roumanian constitution reduces native-born Jews to the status of aliens.

1868. The Mortara affair leads to the founding of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

1870. Charles Netter and the Alliance Israélite found in Palestine the first of the Jewish colonies which Baron Edmond de Rothschild develops in later years.

1871. The Anglo-Jewish Association founded.

1878. Roumania concedes, at the Congress of Berlin, the principle of civil equality for the Jews.

1881. First anti-Jewish atrocities in southern Russia. First campaigns of the League of Anti-Semites, Germany.

1883. The Russian Choveve-Zion (Lovers of Zion) send agricultural colonists to Palestine.

1885. A conference of American Rabbis, at Pittsburgh, establishes the principles of Reform Judaism.

1886. Edouard Drumont publishes *La France Juive.*

1887-1902. Roumanian laws exclude the Jews from public service, limit the number of Jewish factories, the employment of Jewish workers, etc.

1892. Baron Hirsch founds the ICA (Jewish Colonization Association), the aim of which is to found Jewish agricultural colonies in South America.

1895. Captain Dreyfus condemned at Paris for treason on the strength of evidence which was not submitted to the defence. During the years following, the revision of the case splits France into two parties and engages the passionate attention of the whole world.

1897. Theodor Herzl presides at the first Zionist Congress, Basle, Switzerland.

1903. Pogrom at Kishineff.

1906. Rehabilitation of Captain Dreyfus.

1911-13. Mendel Beilis accused of ritual murder in Kiev. The trial, which ends with his acquittal, rouses Russia to the same degree as the Dreyfus trial roused France.

1914-18. Jews take an active part in the Great War in all armies. On the eastern front the Zionists James Rothschild and Vladimir Jabotinsky form several regiments of Jewish volunteers who participate in the conquest of Palestine by British troops.

1917. End of Czarism. Emancipation of the Jews of Russia by the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov. The two Zionist leaders Sokolow and Weizmann obtain the Balfour Declaration, which announces to Lord Rothschild the agreement of the Great Powers to the foundation of a national home in Palestine for the Jewish people. Capture of Jerusalem by the British.

1918-21. German Revolution. Assassination of Kurt Eisner, President of the Bavarian Republic. Bolshevik revolution. Notorious Jews support Bolshevism (Trotzky, Kameneff, Zinoviev, etc.) Other Jews, no less prominent, attack Bolshevism (Hessen, Vinaver, Grusenberg,

Gotz, Vichniak, Kautsky, Gompers, etc.), but anti-Semitic propaganda everywhere identifies Bolshevism with Judaism. Recrudescence of anti-Semitism throughout the entire world in the wake of the upheavals following the Great War. The false "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Pogroms in Galicia, in Poland, and in the Ukraine.

1919. Peace of Versailles. Jewish minority rights recognized in Eastern Europe. Emancipation of the Jews of Roumania.

1920-21. Anti-Zionist disturbances in Palestine.

1922. The Council of the League of Nations ratifies the Mandate over Palestine, given to England and calling for the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

1925. First Hebrew University opened by Lord Balfour on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem.

Chapter I

HISTORY

THE GREAT SANHEDRIN (1807). DOCTRINAL DECISIONS

BLESSED for ever be the name of the Lord, God of Israel, who has placed upon the thrones of France and of the Kingdom of Italy a prince after His heart. God has seen the humiliation of the descendants of Jacob of old, and He has chosen Napoleon the Great as the instrument of His compassion. The Lord judges the thoughts of men, and He alone commands their conscience, and His anointed one permits all men to worship Him according to their belief and faith. Under the shadow of his name security has come into our hearts and our dwellings and from this time on we are permitted to build, to sow, to reap, to cultivate all human knowledge, to be one with the great family of the State, to serve him and to be glorified in his lofty destiny. His high wisdom permits this assembly, which shall be illustrious in our annals, and the wisdom and virtue of which shall dictate decisions, to reconvene after the lapse of fifteen centuries, and to contribute to the welfare of Israel. Gathered this day under his mighty protection, in the good city of Paris, we, learned men and leaders in Israel, to the number of seventy-one, constitute ourselves the Great Sanhedrin to the end that we may find the means and the strength to promulgate religious decrees which shall conform to the principles of our sacred laws and which shall serve as a standard to all Israelites. These decrees shall teach the nations that our dogmas are in keeping with the civil laws under which we live, and that we are in no wise separated from the society of men.

We therefore declare that the Divine Law, the precious heritage of our ancestors, contains within itself dispositions

which are political and dispositions which are religious: that the religious dispositions are, by their nature, absolute and independent of circumstances and of the age; that this does not hold true of the political dispositions, that is to say, of the dispositions which were taken for the government of the people of Israel in Palestine when it possessed its own Kings, Pontiffs and Magistrates; that these political dispositions are no longer applicable, since Israel no longer forms a nation; that in consecrating a distinction which has already been established by tradition, the Great Sanhedrin lays down an incontestible truth; that an assembly of Doctors of the Law, convened as a Great Sanhedrin, is alone competent to determine the results of this distinction: that, if the Sanhedrin of old did not establish this distinction, it is because the political situation did not at that time call for it, and that, since the dispersion of Israel, no Sanhedrin has ever been assembled until the present one.

Engaged in this holy enterprise, we invoke the Divine light, from which all good emanates, and we feel ourselves called upon to contribute, as far as in our power lies, to the completion of the moral regeneration of Israel. Thus, by virtue of the right vested in us by our ancient usage and by our sacred laws, which have determined that the assembly of the learned of the age shall possess the inalienable right to legislate according to the needs of the situation, and which impose upon Israel the observance of these laws—be they written or contained in tradition—we hereby religiously enjoin on all obedience to the State in all matters civil and political. (Quoted by Halphen, *Recueil des lois concernant les Israélites.*)

THE ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE

A group of seventeen young men elected six from among themselves, Aristide Astruc, Isidore Cahen, Jules Carvallo, Narcisse Leven, Eugène Manuel and Charles Netter, to found

the society, work out its statutes and make an appeal to the Jews. These statutes, together with explanatory notes and the appeal, were published in May, 1860. He who would understand the state of mind, the preoccupations and the views of the founders of the Alliance must read these documents. These men had, besides the ardour of their youth, a profound love of Judaism and faith in its destiny. They considered the defence of its honour and its doctrines a sacred duty. They themselves were in freedom, but they had learned from their fathers of the miseries of the past. These stories of the past had touched them deeply; they themselves were not far removed from the days of the Damascus affair: and Mortara was still an actuality.

And even in France, seventy years after the Revolution, there were still prejudices against the Jew, breaking out in the theatre, in the novel, in the literary world and in parts of French society. These prejudices might be treated with contempt, but they were being exploited for the perpetuation of arbitrary government and of superannuated laws against the Jews. Here, indeed, the Jews could defend themselves, but what caused the gravest concern to the founders of the Alliance was the physical and moral degeneration of the Jews, and the pauperism of the masses. Those who lived in free countries, or were moving into free countries, constituted the fewest in number. An accident of history had relegated the masses to Oriental countries that were least accessible to civilization. Without help from the outside they could not hope for improvement; and whence was this help to come? How should it be given? This was a question both social and political in its nature; the founders of the Alliance envisaged it in all its far-flung implications, in all its complexity. It did not permit of immediate solution. It could be reached only through study, through experience, through indefatigable activity, and through the co-operation of the forces of civilization.

It was an immense undertaking, but it was not too great

for the courage of the men who entertained it. They were sustained by an unshakable faith in their ultimate success. Working for the welfare of Israel, they believed that all Israel was with them. The appeal spoke of a union of all the Jews of the world. Scattered throughout all the peoples, they had finally lost contact with one another. What did the Jews of France and England know about the Jews of the Orient, what did even the German Jews know about the Jews of Russia? When catastrophe occurred, their appeal was heard, help was forthcoming, but there was nothing more than a fleeting contact. The occasion over, the isolation of the various countries returned, and this was the source of their weakness. In union lay their salvation. The appeal, after outlining in general terms the programme of the Alliance, went on: "If you believe that it will mean honour to our religion, a lesson to the peoples of the world, the progress of humanity, a triumph for truth and for universal reason, to have all the living forces of Judaism united, small in volume but mighty in love and in goodwill, then come to us; we are founding the Alliance Israelite Universelle." (N. Leven, *Cinquant ans d'histoire.*)

THE JEWS IN AMERICA

To-day, more than three million of Jews live in the United States. One million and a half—one quarter of its entire population—live in the city of New York.

The kinship of the Puritan and Jew, as they appear on the American scene, is close. There was no fortuity in the New Englander's obsession with the Hebrew texts, in his quite conscious taking on of the rôle of Israel in a hostile world. Like the Jew, the Puritan was obsessed with the dream of power: elected a career of separatism from the world in order to attain it: took to himself a personal and exacting God in order to justify it: traversed the seas in order to effect it. And as with the Puritan, so with the Jew, once free in a vast

country, the urge of power swiftly shook off its religious and pietistic way, and drove untrammelled to material aggression. In their intense and isolated will, the Puritan and Jew were kin. Also, in their function as American pioneers. But one must not press the relationship too far. As occurs so often upon the theatre of the world, channels of energy, though flung from widely different sources and tending to diverse points, for a season flowed together and fertilized one field. No more. . . .

After all, a majority of Jews doubtless deemed Moses a scatterbrain and preferred Egypt: declined Cyrus' invitation to shake off the prestige and comforts of the Babylonian captivity. A majority of Jews, like a majority of other men and women, respond rather passively and simply to the external impulse of the world they live in. Certainly, a majority of Jews have done just that in the United States.

They came to America—mostly after 1880—with their sharpened wits and will-to-power, and America welcomed them and put these qualities to work. They came to America also with their love of God, but for such seed America was less fertile.

The Jew simply was caught up in the continental rhythm. He became a pioneer: in many ways, as we have seen, he was a Puritan already. He joined hands in the keen task of developing America. The power of wealth, the sanctity of money, were no secret to him. The sweets in the denial of sensuous indulgence when such indulgence was impossible or meant defeat, were no secret to him. The channelling of his mind upon the problems of practical dominion was an old channel to the Jew. Enormous incentives, these, in the American lands. He also poured outward: he also became spiritually poor: he also stripped for action. When the mystical Jew dies, the Jew is dead. . . .

In the American chaos the Jew went under. We shall see how, in the American birth, he rises up. (Waldo Frank, *Our America.*)

THE FIRST ZIONIST CONGRESS (1897)

Writers, journalists, poets, novelists, merchants, professors, men of all conditions and professions, from the mightiest of millionaires, arriving in sleeping-cars, to the poverty-stricken Russian student who had come on foot from the Swiss or German university—and down to the peasants and mountaineers who had come by stages from Bukovina, or Bessarabia, or the Caucasus, at the expense of the village committee. . . .

"A strange fantasmagoria of faces. A small, sallow Pole, with high cheek-bones; a blond Hungarian, with a flaxen moustache; a brown, hatchet-faced Roumanian; a fresh-coloured Frenchman, with eyeglasses; a dark, marrano-descended Dutchman; a chubby German; a fiery Russian, tugging at his own hair with excitement, perhaps in prescience of the prison awaiting his return; a dusky Egyptian, with the close-cropped, curly black hair, and all but the nose of a negro; a yellow-bearded Swede; a courtly Viennese lawyer; a German student, with proud duel-slashes across his cheek; a Viennese student, first fighter in the University, with a coloured band across his shirt-front; a dandy, redolent of the best Petersburg circles; and one solitary caftan-Jew, with ear-locks and skull-cap, wafting into the nineteenth century the Kabbalistic mysticism of the Carpathian mountains."

Who speaks of the Jewish type? One can only say negatively that they are not Christians. Is it the stamp of a longer, more complex heredity? Is it the brand of suffering? Whatever it be, all these men whom Herzl has managed to convince of the futility of their efforts to "accommodate their skins and their Jewish imitations" to the colour and movement of their surroundings, and to whom he gave back again their native pride—all of them know henceforth that they have something in common: the sense of their unity and the certainty that they are collaborating in what is perhaps the most important Jewish movement since the days of Hadrian, when Bar Kochba attempted to wrest from the hands of Rome the

independence of Palestine. (André Spire; quotation from Zangwill.)

THE VINDICATION OF DREYFUS (1906)

When he had asked that the ceremony should not be held in the large courtyard of the Ecole Militaire, Dreyfus had desired to avoid the too vivid recollection of the agony he had suffered there. But the somewhat similar shape of the courtyard where the ceremony actually took place, the movement of troops and regiments of artillery, the pealing of bugles, the clashing of arms, and the very effort which he made to overcome the ghastly memory, brought back the scene before him. Never, not even during those sleepless nights on Devil's Island, had the hallucination been so intense. His heart beat as if it would burst. He passed again through the agony of his martyrdom, down to the minutest details. He could not see the regiments which were assembled in his honour. He could see only those regiments which had been assembled to witness his degradation. And he hears, unceasingly, the wild cry of the mob: "Kill him!" Brigadier-General Gillain, commanding the first cavalry division, arrives in parade uniform. He passes before his troops, takes up his position in the centre of the courtyard, and draws his sword. Colonel Gaillard calls: "Officers of the Legion!" Dreyfus and Targe come forward, and stand before the general. "Open the Sentence!" Four trumpet-peals. In the midst of a vast silence the voice of the general is heard, clear and strong, calling the names of the two officers. He decorates Targe first. At the back of the courtyard voices are heard: *"Vive la République!"*

The old general steps up to Dreyfus. "In the name of the President of the Republic, and by virtue of the authority vested in me, Major Dreyfus, I proclaim you *Chevalier* of *the Legion of Honour.*" The general's sword falls three times upon his shoulder. He pins the cross on the black dolman,

and kisses on both cheeks the man of Devil's Island. "You once served in my division," he says. "I am happy to have been entrusted with the mission which I have just discharged." The trumpets sound to close the sentence. All eyes are turned to two windows. At one of them Lucy Dreyfus is seen, weeping, and at the other is seen the slender silhouette of General Picquart. There are cries: *"Vive Picquart!"* Picquart replies, "No, no, Dreyfus!" And many voices are raised: *"Vive l'armée! Vive la République! Vive la vérité!"*

The general speaks with Dreyfus, while the bodies of infantry and artillery, in successive evolutions, are massed at the back of the courtyard. The command rings out: "Company column! Forward march!" The troops pass out amid the blowing of bugles. When the last soldier has disappeared under the arch, the general shakes Dreyfus by the hand again. The spectators press toward him. The cries are raised again: *"Vive Dreyfus!"* . . . In a choked voice, Dreyfus pleads: "No, no, gentlemen, please . . ." He cannot go any further; only his lips move. Then a young man, breaking through the crowd, throws himself in the arms of Major Dreyfus: "Father! Father!" . . . Every one turns away. Dreyfus weeps. (Joseph Reinach, *History of the Dreyfus Case,* VI, 502.)

EMANCIPATION OF RUSSIAN JEWS BY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF PRINCE LVOV (MARCH 21—APRIL 3, 1917)

Three days ago we were still slaves. To-day, by the sovereign will of the people in revolution, we are citizens. . . . Comrades, if before the Revolution the Russian state was merely an immense prison, comprising only prisoners and gaolers, the most horrible cell it contained, the torture-chamber, was reserved for us, the Jewish people, with our six million souls. From earliest childhood when, eager to learn, we knocked at the doors of the State school, we found them hermetically sealed; and in reply to that first child's cry there came the brutal: "Begone! The school is not for you!" Like

galley-slaves we were all chained to a single bench, isolated in a common contempt. If individual Jews were guilty of misbehaviour, the Jewish people as a whole was held responsible. Nevertheless, we have always loved, with an unhappy and helpless love, with a complete and undivided love, our great fatherland. Why? Because of the restless soul of the Russian people, because of its eternal striving, because of its sleepless hungering after truth, because of the imperishable spirit of love in its masses. The Russian dream, Russian books, Russian friends, eager to suffer for the universal good—these had filled our hearts, these had bound us in indissoluble bonds of love to the immense Russian homeland. Pogroms have neither embittered us nor isolated us; we believed, we wanted to believe, that every blow which fell upon us was as bitterly felt by you. . . . But the lackeys of Czarism would not disarm. At the call for the defence of its native soil, the entire nation rose, under a universal impulse of sacrifice, shoulder to shoulder with us, with our sons and brothers—the government of the Czar replied with new accusations of treason, in order to cover its own incompetence and even its treachery. Shelterless, pauperized, despised, the Jewish people stood in impotence before the ruins of their homes, and sought an explanation for these calumnies. And the Russian people has given us its reply in the act of March 21st, which gives us equality of rights. Comrades, blessed be our common warriors and martyrs, blessed be our common agonies, our common humiliations; they have tempered our spirit and made it invincible. We shall surrender our sacred victory, our common liberty, to no one, to no one. Let us stand guard over it in an iron ring. He that has once been freed shall never again be enslaved. (Address by Senator M. O. Grusenberg before the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates; *Univers Israélite,* LXXII, 35.)

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Letter addressed by Arthur James Balfour, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Lord Rothschild, Vice-President of the Zionist Federation of England, under date of November 2, 1917:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavour to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. (From Sokolow's *History of Zionism.*)

THE JEWS IN MODERN LIFE

His gift of tongues, his relationship with all the lands of the exile, mark him out for this function in its various aspects of commerce and finance, journalism and criticism, scholarship and travel, connoisseurship and art-dealing. It was by their linguistic talents that the adventurous journeys of Arminius Vámbéry, Aurel Stein, Sven Hedin and Emin Pasha were made possible. If a Russian-American Jew, Berenson, is the chief authority on Italian art, and Georg Brandes, the Dane, is Europe's greatest critic, if Reuter initiated telegraphic news and Blowitz was the prince of foreign correspondents, if Charles Frohman was the world's greatest *entrepreneur* and Imré Kiralfy ran its exhibitions, all these phenomena find their explanation in the cosmopolitanism of the Jewish intelligentsia. For when the Jew grows out of his own Ghetto without narrowing into his neighbour's, he must necessarily possess a superior sense of perspective. Lifted to the plane of idealism, this cosmopolitan habit of mind creates Socialism through Karl Marx and Lassalle, an international language through Dr. Zamenhof, the inventor of Esperanto, a prophecy

of the end of the war through Jean de Bloch, an International Institute of Agriculture through David Lubin, and a Race Congress through Dr. Felix Adler. . . .

Jews have indeed—even to the unjaundiced eye—been playing no inconsiderable part in world affairs, whether we look to the financiers, the Rothschilds, Cassels, Schiffs, Speyers and Barnatos, or to the journalists (Maximilian Harden, Benedikt, "Pertinax," Sir Sidney Low, Lord Burnham, etc.), or to the politicians (Lord Reading, Edwin Montagu, Klotz, Kurt Eisner, Trotsky, Luzzatto, etc.), but, with the exception of Schiff, who refused to finance the Russia of the Czar, can any one trace in their activities even as much subconscious Jewish sympathy as influenced Beaconsfield? Can any one imagine Clemenceau's Jewish secretary, Mandel, jogging his master's elbow at the Peace Conference in favour of a Hebrew Palestine? As little as one can imagine Sir John Monash marching to Jerusalem—unless ordered by Foch—or the great Jewish chess-champions sacrificing their bishops in some obscure anti-Christian spasm.

It is in fact in the impersonal and international spheres of science, philosophy and scholarship that the race of Spinoza has won its greatest triumphs since it emerged from the Ghetto. Here the record is overwhelming. At least five of the Nobel prizes for Science have already been awarded to Jews: Albert Michelson (optics), Gabriel Lippmann (colour-photography), Henri Moissan (chemistry), Dr. Barony (otology), Wilstatter (chlorophyll). In a race that for eighteen centuries has been bent over its books, parasitic on the past, this genius for observation is staggering, till one recalls Leviticus and the practical priestly supplement to the prophetic ethics. Among many other outstanding contributors to Science may be mentioned Heinrich Hertz (electro-magnetic waves, wireless telegraphy), Meldola (coal-tar dyes), Hertha Ayrton (electric arc), J. F. Cohn (bacteriology), Jacques Loeb (parthenogenesis), Mendeleeff (the periodic law), Lombroso (criminology), Freud and Jung (psychology), Einstein (physics, new theory of

space). It is no wonder that the Presidency of our Royal Society has fallen to a Jew.

As a physician the Jew's fame dates from Saracenic Spain, when he was the bearer of Arabian science, and the tradition that kings shall always have Jewish physicians is still unbroken. Dr. Ehrlich's recent discovery of "606," the cure for syphilis, Dr. Haffkine's inoculation against the plague in India, and the researches of Dr. Simon Flexner, of the Rockefeller Institute, are but links in the long chain of Jewish contributions to the peculiarly international sphere of medicine; while Max Nordau, an epitome of every Jewish talent, is also, like Maimonides and so many other Jewish thinkers, a practising physician.

Nor are the contributions to the more humanistic sciences less amazing. The names of Benfey (Sanscrit), Jules Oppert (Assyriology), Sylvester and Georg Cantor (mathematics), Bréal (semantics), Salomon Reinach (universal scholarship), Asser (juristics), Hermann Cohen and Bergson (philosophy) may suffice as examples.

If the legend of the Conquering Jew meant his emergence from "that curious system of degrading customs and debasing laws," not merely not broken-hearted but able to pour forth streams of courageous vitality on every field of life and thought, "a blessing to all the families of the earth," then the legend would be true indeed. (Israel Zangwill, *The Voice of Jerusalem.*)

Chapter II

CRITICISM OF JUDAISM

1. Historical Criticism

THE NEED OF A JEWISH SCIENCE

BUT precisely because the Jews of our time—to mention only the Jews of Germany—have taken with the utmost seriousness to the German language and to German culture, so that—even while such is not perhaps the intent—the new Hebrew literature is threatened with extinction, precisely for this reason this Science arose to create the record of the past. At this particular time, when it is unlikely that any event of high importance will arise to upset our estimates, when the means for study are considerably greater than they were for the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and when Hebrew books are more easily obtainable than they are likely to be in the year 1919, at this particular time, we believe, we have the special duty to cultivate this science on a large scale, the more so as it appears that its material will enable us to furnish replies to the complicated questions concerning the fate of the Jews with which we are faced. Laws which are created and applied from without will never suffice to answer these problems, unless there has been an intimate study of the nature of the instrument and how it is to be used. To know the modern Jew theoretically, to know him juridically, theologically, economically, is to know him in a one-sided fashion; to know the Jews thoroughly, to enter into their spirit, there must be a study of their customs and their will. Every thoughtless amelioration, so-called, later exacts its price: too hasty innovation results in the overaccentuation of the value

of the old, and, much worse, of the outlived. In order to know which of the old is still valid, which of the outlived is to be rejected, which of the new is to be adopted, we must betake ourselves to the study of the people, both in its political and its moral sense. And herein we touch on one of the great misfortunes, namely, that the Jews have been treated like their literature: both have aroused the most violent passions, and both have been either greatly undervalued or greatly overestimated. (Leopold Zunz, *Introduction to Complete Works.*)

JEWISH SECTS

There are three aspects under which the struggle between faith and science become manifest: in two of them there is an effort to subordinate the one to the other. Either faith is forcibly fitted into the framework of a scientific system, or else science is subordinated to the system of faith; in these two there is less a reconciliation than a conquest of the one by the other. But in the third aspect we arrive at a complete synthesis between the two, in which there is no question of the subordination either of science or of faith. These three aspects are called, respectively, the rationalistic, the supernatural and the mystic, and they have emerged at all times under various forms, modified only by the peculiar spirit of the times and by the individuality of the protagonists. . . . In ancient Jewry these three aspects were represented by the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Essenes: such, however, was the condition of science at that time, and such the peculiar spirit of Jewry, that these three aspects are not easily recognized at first, and our parallel seems to be paradoxical and far-fetched. The one party insisted that the words of the Bible were to be read in accord with what the spirit of the times indicated: these were the Pharisees; the second party insisted that the words of the Bible should stand, and that the spirit of the times should be interpreted in their light; the third party, moved by a faith which rose above both these

considerations as such, believed in the truth of the Scriptures and the spirit of the times, and united them both. These were the Essenes. . . . But Judaism was, above all things, a religion of practices, wherein there is room for a continuous evolution of the divine spirit in man, and the practices themselves are but symbolic indications of spiritual truths; side by side with this ever-evolving symbolism there was the free word, of equal value in teaching the faith. That free word was the instrument, first of the prophets, later of the haggadists, then of the Darschanim, and now of the preachers. This double nature of the religion served to mitigate the bitterness of the struggle between those who, like the Sadducees of old, seek to conserve the words at the expense of the times, and those who, like the Pharisees of old, are ready to read into the words whatever the spirit of the times may ask: and in thus mitigating the struggle, this double nature of the Jewish religions keeps both sides within the Jewish fold, as once it did the Pharisee and the Sadducee. Another result is that a barrier is put up against the reduction of the vivid force of Judaism into a sentimental regard for pietistic ritual and observance, confounding passivity of the soul with religious activity. (Abraham Geiger, in the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie.*)

AVICEBRON AND IBN GABIROL

Foremost among the small number of Arab philosophers who are distinguished by the independence and originality of their doctrines, and who enjoyed a high reputation among Christian theologians of the thirteenth century, there was one known under the name of Avicebron, whose principal work, *Fons Vitæ,* seems to have exercised considerable influence in the Christian schools, and to have given rise to heterodox opinions sufficiently important to rouse the theologians to the use of all the arguments furnished by religious dogma and dalectic skill. The frequency with which the

Fons Vitæ is quoted, particularly in the works of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, bears witness to the popularity of the book and to the sensation created by the doctrines which it develops. A learned Orientalist (Jourdain, in his *Recherches sur les traductions d'Aristote,* p. 137), who is equally conversant with the Scholastic and Arab literatures, goes so far as to say that it is impossible to understand thoroughly the philosophy of the thirteenth century without an analysis of the *Liber de Causis* and the *Fons Vitæ.* . . . Who is this Arab philosopher hidden behind the corrupt name of Avicebron? To what country and to what age does he belong? If he wrote in Arabic, why do we find no trace of him in the numerous works of Averroës? A discovery which I made in the Imperial Library enabled me to answer these various questions. In a Hebrew manuscript containing various treatises on philosophy, I came across a synopsis, by Shem-Tob-ibn-Falakera, a Jewish philosopher of the thirteenth century, of a treatise called *Mekor Chayim* (The Fount of Life), in which I recognized without difficulty the exact doctrines which are attributed to Avicebron. . . . The author of the treatise is Solomon ibn Gabirol, of the eleventh century, famous among the Jews as a religious poet and philosopher. He it is whom we must recognize under the corrupt name of Avicebron, for the documents which I publish leave not a single doubt as to the identity of the treatise of ibn Gabirol and the celebrated *Fons Vitæ.* I already established this identity beyond all question in an article which I published in a German literary periodical. My article was addressed chiefly to M. Ritter, who, in his "History of Philosophy," had found no place for the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages, but who, without knowing it, had cited a Jewish philosopher as the most original thinker of the Arab period. (Solomon Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe.*)

POLYTHEISM AND TABOO IN THE BIBLE

The name *Elohim* is a plural form signifying *gods*. This suffices to show that the Jews were originally polytheists, despite the fact that it is claimed that the form represents the "majestic plural." Further, we find in Genesis that God seems to have said: "Let *us* make man in *our* image?" (1: 26), and again (3: 22): "Man has become like one of *us*." It is altogether puerile to interpret this as an allusion to the Trinity. . . .

The Taboo idea, common among primitive peoples, has left numerous traces in the Bible. The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil is taboo; God prohibits man to eat thereof without giving a reason, and the punishment for transgression is death. If Adam, after having transgressed the prohibition, does not die, it is because the Jehovist text is a compilation of other and older texts, one of which probably alluded to the sudden death of the first man. . . . Another taboo object is the Ark of the Covenant. It was a wooden coffer, perhaps containing fetiches, in which the Divine Force was said to reside. . . . The legislation and morality of the Pentateuch are again impregnated with taboo; it is interesting to watch the moral ideas rising clear from them and existing side by side with them. The Sabbath was originally a taboo day, i.e., maleficent; no one was to work on that day nor cause others to work, either servant or beast of burden, because they ran the risk of being wounded or of spoiling the work. But in the Bible this gross concept is already in course of transformation; the idea of a day of rest emerges, linked with the idea of good and of pity for the weariness of others. In the Decalogue, in the midst of interdictions, we find this affirmative precept: "Honour thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long." (Exodus 20: 12.) This is the modified and, as it were, inverted form of the taboo, which threatens with death: "If thou strike thy father or thy mother, thou

shalt die." And thus the taboo became a moral command. (Solomon Reinach. *Orpheus.*)

THE SOURCES OF MOSAIC LEGISLATION

From of old, even before Moses had placed before the children of Israel the laws and the commandments, there were laws and decrees which had been handed down orally from generation to generation among the descendants of Jacob. According to the Torah, Abraham and his descendants were pre-eminent for their observation of laws founded on justice and equity. (Genesis 18, 19, 26: 5.) These laws, the fulfilment of which was attributed to the house of Jacob, were virtuous customs obtaining among the children of this family. In addition, other customs and usages were implanted among them during their stay in Egypt, for it is impossible for two peoples to live side by side for centuries without exercising an influence on each other in the matter of customs and ways of life. All of these customs and habits, good or bad, which they had either inherited from their own ancestors or had acquired in Egypt, are among the elements on which the giver of the divine law based his laws and decrees. . . . These foundations are not to be found in the Scriptures; but there are in the Torah many laws and commandments which are incomprehensible without the assumption of still older laws and customs . . .; this unwritten law will help us to understand the written law; and herein too lies the meaning of the oral law, the purpose of which is to explain, either with expansion or limitation, the written law. (Isaac Hirsch Weiss, *History of Jewish Tradition,* I, Ch. I.)

THE MODERN SPIRIT AMONG THE PROPHETS

Their spirit is to be found in the modern soul. It matters little that they spoke in the name of a god, Jehovah, and that the modern age speaks in the name of human thought: for

their Jehovah was nothing more than the apotheosis of the human soul, the projection of their own conscience against the background of heaven. They loved everything that we love, and their ideal was reared at the expense neither of reason nor of conscience. They unveiled in heaven a god who seeks neither altars nor holocausts nor psalms, "but let righteousness run down like water and justice like a mighty stream." They turned right into a power, and from the idea they fashioned a fact before which all facts were shaken; by sheer belief in justice, they made justice a factor in the march of history. They uttered the cry of pity for the unhappy, the cry of vengeance against the oppressor, the cry of peace and unity among the peoples. They did not say to man: "This world is not worth while." They said: "The world is good: be thou good also, be just, be pure." They said to the rich: "Thou shalt not hold back the labourer's hire." To the judge: "Thou shalt punish without humiliating." To the sage: "Thou art responsible for the soul of thy people." And they taught more than one how to live and how to die for righteousness and without the hope of the Elysian Fields. They taught the peoples that, without an ideal, "the future is nothingness," that the ideal alone gives life, that this ideal is neither the glory of conquest, nor riches, nor power, but the lifting up, like a light in the midst of the nations, of the example of better laws and a higher soul. And beyond the storms of the present, they projected upon the skies of the future the rainbow of a tremendous hope; the radiant vision of a better humanity, liberated from evil and from death; knowing neither war nor unjust judges; a time when the knowledge of God would fill the earth as the waters cover the sea; a time when mothers would no longer bear children destined to a sudden death. The visions of seers: to-day the visions of scholars.

The prophetic spirit is in science, but unknown to itself and voiceless. That is why, in the interregnum of the Word, chaos reigns: for the spirit is not potent save through the magic of the Word which expresses it. In the beginning is

always the Word. And the spirit of these ancient prophets, being the oldest, is also the youngest, and the modern age has not yet found words of equal power, neither among its philosophers, nor among its moralists, nor among its poets, nor yet in its manuals of municipal morality: for those words concentrated within themselves all the tyranny of the conscience and the ideal. (James Darmesteter, *Les Prophètes en Israël.*)

2. Philosophic Criticism

a. THE ERAS OF THE ETERNAL PEOPLE

There are three periods through which, in the natural process of events, every ancient people must pass from the time it becomes a people until the time of its disappearance. First is the period of its birth and blossoming, then the period of its mature power, and lastly the period of its decay. It is thus with every nation which is the bearer of some finite and particular idea which is destined, by its nature, to ultimate disappearance. But as far as our nation is concerned, though it is true that we are, in what appertains to the material and to the perception of the senses, subject to the same law, there is something in our history indicated by that saying of the sages (their memory for a blessing): "Thou wert exiled to Babylon, and the Lord was with thee, thou were exiled to Elam, and the Lord was with thee." That is to say, there is within us the infinite and universal Idea which saves us from the common fate of the ephemeral. Indeed, we have seen, in considering our history, how the three periods of a nation have been repeated twice and three times for us, and how, when the day of our decline had been reached, there was a rebirth of the spirit, so that, whenever we fell, we rose again, because the Lord had not abandoned us. (Nachman Krochmal, *Guide to the Perplexed of Our Times.*)

b. JUDAISM AND KANTIANISM

The finest distinction of Kant's formula of the moral law is that it carries with it the absolute universality of the law: "Act so that you may desire that the law of your actions may become the law for all." For in all like cases, then, one and the same law shall serve as the standard of action. Similarly, it is the characteristic distinction of the most ancient Jewish legislation that one and the same law was laid down for all. Unlike the practice of the contemporary nations, the principle of absolute equality before the law was proclaimed among the Jews. Not alone the nations that were divided into casts provided a code of law for each, but among all civilized peoples different standards prevailed for different estates and classes. Judaism, however, ordained equality before the law, alike for the members of the nation, for the native and—this was the crowning distinction—for the alien. With solemn appeal to the "Congregation!" it is enjoined that the principle, "one statute for all," shall endure forever in their generations, "one law and one code," alike for the native and the stranger. (Num. 15: 15, *seq.;* comp. also Lev. 24: 22, and other passages.) . . . The traditional dicta range, on the one hand, from everybody's thoughts, beliefs, and knowledge, which, being the expression of the public spirit, were current as household words, to the quotations, on the other hand, of some forgotten opinion, advanced by an individual, on a certain occasion, in a given circle, and perhaps regarded at the time as peculiar. There follows necessarily a scale of value, graded by history and to be graded in a systematic statement. The clue to a just estimate can be derived from a consideration of the proverbs of all nations. As they often contradict one another, so, even among races of the highest moral standard, they are apt to be harsh—not a strange circumstance in view of the fact that most of them originated in an early period of deficient moral development. Overrating of the useful, encouragement of self-interest, painful reprisals, are common.

If, then, the moral character of a nation is to be judged by its proverbs, only the best of them may go to form the verdict, only such as may be considered the product of ethical growth. A paragraph must be devoted to the words wrung from the soul by the agony of persecution, by crying injustice, by sorrow and grief over violence and oppression. How often Simon Ben Yochai's passionate outburst: "Kill even the best of the heathen!" has been cast up as a reproach! The critics forget that he had been bitterly persecuted by the Romans. He had been forced to spend thirteen joyless, inactive years in hiding in a cave, for the crime of having taught and read the Scriptures—nothing more. The Germans and the French of this century are nations of high ethical standing, yet the ebullitions of rage and revenge during the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1870 make Ben Yochai's cry of pain seem unimpassioned by comparison. Immoderate, despairing rage must be met understandingly, in the spirit of the Talmudic principle: "No one is responsible for words extorted by pain" (of persecution). They should not be glossed over nor excused. As little may they be set down to the discredit of the nation or the speakers as their sober opinion. (Maurice Lazarus, *Ethics of Judaism,* I, 130, 64-67.)

C. KANT AND JEWISH RELIGION

In its Biblical sources Judaism does not philosophize, but the logic of monotheism carries over from the Bible into later productions. As holiness becomes manifest through commands and rules of justice, so later the Holy Spirit approaches ever nearer to the spirit of morality, to moral reason. And the pre-eminence which it takes over all other attributes of the spirit hints at the thought which was expressed by Kant in his "Primat der praktischen Vernunft." The Holy Spirit does not remain the "God of the spirits of all flesh." . . . A sentence in the Midrash carries on the idea to its logical conclusion: "I call heaven and earth to witness: be it an Israelite

or an heathen, a man or a woman, a slave or a maidservant, only by acts is the Holy Spirit revealed." Action is the proof, the criterion, of the Holy Spirit. All differences of race, faith and descent disappear before this criterion of man: before this criterion and none other. That a man have reason and spirit, and thereby pursues knowledge, does not demonstrate that he possesses the Holy Spirit: *that* can be proved by his acts alone. His conduct alone proves whether he has the Holy Spirit with him. . . . These words are, in the Midrash, put into the mouth of Elijah, the precursor of the Messiah. Man, in the infinitude of his moral duties, in the infinite extent of his horizon, in his moral absolute, released from all irrelevant relationships of nature and history, man the absolute becomes the carrier of the Holy Spirit. (Hermann Cohen, *Religion der Vernunft,* Ch. 7.)

3. Social Criticism

JEWISH CONSERVATISM

"The Jews, independently of the capital qualities for citizenship which they possess in their industry, temperament and energy and vivacity of mind, are a race essentially monarchical, deeply religious and shrinking from converts as from a calamity. They are ever anxious to see the religious systems of the countries in which they live flourish; yet, since your society has become agitated in England, and powerful combinations menace your institutions, you find the once loyal Hebrew invariably arrayed in the same ranks as the leveller and the latitudinarian, and prepared to support the policy which may even endanger his life and prosperity, rather than tamely continue under a system which seeks to degrade him. The Tories lose an important election at a critical moment; 'tis the Jews come forward to vote against them. The Tories are alarmed at the scheme of a latitudinarian university, and learn with relief that funds are not forthcoming for its estab-

lishment; a Jew immediately advances and endows it. Yet the Jews, Coningsby, are essentially Tories. Toryism is, indeed, but copied from the mighty prototype which has fashioned Europe. In every generation they must become more powerful and more dangerous to the society which is hostile to them. Do you think that the quiet, humdrum persecution of a decorous representative of an English University can crush those who have successfully baffled the Pharaohs, Nebuchadnezzar, Rome and the feudal ages? It is a physiological fact, a simple law of nature, which has baffled Egyptian and Assyrian kings, Roman emperors and Christian inquisitors. No penal laws, no physical tortures, can effect that a superior race should be absorbed by an inferior, or be destroyed by it. The mixed, persecuting races disappear; the pure, persecuted race remains. And at this moment, in spite of centuries, of tens of centuries of degradation, the Jewish mind exercises a vast influence in the affairs of Europe. I speak not of the laws, which they still obey; of their literature, with which your minds are saturated; but of the living Hebrew intellect." (Sidonia, in Disraeli's *Coningsby,* Vol. IV, Chap. XV.)

ANTI-JEWISH COMMUNISM

You Jews, who demand a special emancipation, a Jewish emancipation, are egoists; you should, as Germans, work for the emancipation of Germany, and, as human beings, work for the emancipation of humankind. . . . Let us look at the Jew as he is every day, not the Jew of the Sabbath. Let us not seek the mystery of the Jew in his religion, but let us seek the mystery of his religion in the Jew as he is. What is the *worldly* foundation of Judaism? It is a practical need, egoism. What is the *worldly* practice of the Jew? Commerce. What is the *worldly* divinity of the Jew? Money. Well, then, liberation from commerce and money, that is, from real and practical Judaism, is the great need of our time. An organized

society which would subvert the foundations of commerce, and therefore would subvert commerce itself, would make it impossible for the Jew to exist. . . . The Jew has found Jewish emancipation not only in having seized the financial power, but in having contributed, as far as he could, to enthrone the idol of money over the world. . . . The Jews have *found* emancipation to the same extent that the Christians have become Jews. (Karl Marx, *Annales allemandes-françaises.*)

THE MISSION OF THE PROLETARIAT

The high dignity of your historic mission should fill your minds. The vices of the oppressed, the pastimes of the poor in spirit, the frivolities of the inconsequential individual—these things no longer become you. You are the rock upon which the church of these times shall be built. The grave moral significance of this idea should take hold of your minds with a devouring jealousy, should model the whole of your lives in its image: let it never leave you; let it be with you in your factory, during work, and during your hours of leisure, when you walk out, when you meet—even when you seek rest on your hard pallets; let this thought fill your souls until the day when they are given up to the dreams of the divine sleep. The more exclusively you enter into the serious and moral sense of this thought, the more exclusively will you give yourselves to the flame which breaks from it, and the sooner, be sure, will you behold the day which will bring about the consummation of your task. If, gentlemen, I have been fortunate in lighting this flame in your thoughts, if it be only with the few who listen to me to-day; if I have made you feel it as I feel it, as I have described it, I shall consider that fact an inestimable gain, and shall feel myself adequately repaid for my effort. . . .

But before all else, gentlemen, you must remove from your hearts discouragement and doubt, which can easily enter into you if you consider only the task which is before you without

considering also the connection which binds it to great historic forces. . . . Have you ever, from the summit of a mountain, looked upon the rising of the sun? A purple ribbon, touched with crimson and with blood, at the furthest limit of the horizon, announces the rising light; and then the fogs and the mists gather, and throw themselves against the breaking dawn, and for a moment extinguish its rays. But there is no earthly power which can hold back the slow, majestic rising of the sun; and one hour later, in the eyes of the whole world, he bathes the firmament in warmth and light. Every day one hour suffices to lift up over the earth a new sun; twenty or thirty years will not be too much to lift up a new sun over the history of mankind. (Ferdinand Lassalle, *The Programme of the Workers.*)

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE JEWS

If it is not true that the Jews are a race, it is equally untrue that they should be considered as the causes of modern changes. To so consider them would be to accord them too much importance, something which is done rather by the anti-Semites than by the philo-Semites. To make, of Israel, the world's centre, the ferment of the peoples, the agitator of the nations—that is absurd: yet nevertheless this is what is done by the friends and by the enemies of the Jews. Whether their name be Bossuet or Drumont, they attribute a disproportionate importance to the Jews, and this importance has been accepted by the Jews with their savage and characteristic vanity. But the error must be corrected. If empires and monarchies have crumbled to the dust, if the all-powerful Church has seen her authority dwindle, despite all the agonized efforts of the bourgeoisie, and if, on the other hand, the growth of indifference toward religion keeps pace with the growth of revolution, the cause is not to be found in the descendants of Jacob. The Jews themselves have certainly not brought about the present state of affairs: they are only better adapted

to it by virtue of their atavistic and secular qualities. They were not the founders of the present financial, commercial and industrial state of society, to which so many things have contributed; yet they have benefited from it more than any one else; they have drawn from it numerous and valuable advantages, and that not because they have made use of methods particularly disloyal or dishonest, but because the centuries, with their restrictive laws, their religious prescriptions, the political and social conditions under which they had lived, had prepared them for their present environment, had armed them in advance, and with superior arms, for the daily struggle. (Bernard Lazare, *Anti-Semitism, Its History and Causes.*)

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE STATE

I do not wish to put up a fight for Jewish officers of the Reserve. Nor have I pity for the Jew who seeks official responsibilities in the face of repulse. Whosoever seeks responsibilities can assume them toward himself, toward mankind and toward God; he that goes begging for a place which is refused him does not get my pity and cannot have my help.

What I do wish to fight against is the injustice which reigns in Germany, for in whichever direction I turn I see the shadows rising. I see them in the night, when I pass through the roaring streets of Berlin and note the insolence of the wealthy who have risen to insane power, when I hear the ringing braggadocio and the exclusive pretensions of the new pseudo-Germanism, displayed by a certain part of the press and by the haughty ladies of the court. If a certain period of history is to be free from anxiety, it does not suffice that the lieutenant shall be a good swordsman and the embassy attaché full of high hopes. It is many decades since Germany has passed through so grave a stage in her history; what is most needed in times like these is the elimination of injustice.

The injustice which is practised in Germany against German Judaism, as well as, to some extent, against the German bour-

geoisie, is not the greatest current injustice, but it is an injustice just the same, and it should be aired. But the best thing to do is for each one of us to dig down into his conscience, into his human conscience, his social conscience, his citizen's conscience, and uproot the instinct of injustice wherever it may be found. (Walther Rathenau, in 1911.)

THE THEORY OF ASSIMILATION

Judaism is a religion. It was as the adherents of a religion that the Jews were persecuted in the Middle Ages; it was as such that they were emancipated by the French Revolution. If, at that time, they had manifested any national pretensions, this emancipation would have been withheld. In France there is no other nation than the French nation. "A Nation One and Indivisible": this was the motto of the Revolution. The present difficulty rises from the fact that the Jews are distributed through various stages of Europeanization, according to the countries in which they live; and the question is whether those who have risen highest in modern progress will help the others to rise to the same level, or the opposite will take place. . . . If Judaism be a religion, in what sense are those who have left the Jewish religion Jews? In the same sense as the French of Brittany are Bretons, and the French of Provence are Provençal. We have inherited from our ancestors certain spiritual aptitudes, characteristics, for the conservation of which we must thank our long exclusion from Christian society. Now that the Jews have given proof of their loyalty in every country of their adoption, I think it would be well that they should develop their hereditary characteristics as a particular contribution to modern society. The position which they occupy is the best proof of the special timbre which the French spirit produces in the intelligently cultured Jew. This originality is independent of religious practice. (Sylvain Levi, in the *Univers Israélite.*)

Chapter III

THE THREE ASPECTS OF MODERN JUDAISM

1. Conservative Judaism

THE JEW AND HIS TIME

HAS Judaism ever been of its age? Can Judaism belong to its age? Could it have belonged to it? Could it be made to do so?

Was Abraham of his age when the Chaldæan monarch threw him into the furnace for having broken the idols of his age? Were our forefathers of their time when they were humiliated by the Egyptians, when, century after century, they bowed their necks to the yoke of slavery, when they saw their sucklings cast into the Nile? Was Daniel of his age when, under Babylonian rule, he chose with the companions of his youth to live on the grasses of the field, and to expose himself to the lions rather than give up the prayer which he uttered thrice daily, with his face turned toward Jerusalem, according to the custom of our ancestors? Were the Maccabees of their age when they heroically opposed the invasion of Greek customs and Greek civilization? Were the disciples of Hillel, son of Zaccai, of their time, when the Roman destroyed by the sword the Kingdom of Judæa, razed the Temple of Jerusalem and led the children of Judah away to slaughter or to slavery, to be thrown to the wild beasts for the amusement of their princes or scattered to the four corners of the earth? . . . And again, throughout these many centuries, was Judaism ever of its age, the Judaism for which, in every clime and in every century, our fathers suffered the cruelest oppression, the most insolent derision, and death in a thousand forms? In any of these periods, was Judaism ever

of its age? Did it comply with the opinions of its contemporaries; did it not expose itself to oblivion or to misunderstanding; was it ever found easy or convenient to be a Jew? And is it the duty of Judaism to be of its time?

What would have become of Judaism if our fathers had thought it their duty to remodel it with the changing images of the centuries? If, in Egypt, the model had been the wisdom of the Priests of Meroë, in Babylon, the mysteries of Melytta, in Persia, the wisdom of the Magis of Zoroaster, in Greece, the Eleusinian mysteries or the popular fables of Olympus or the systems of philosophy which rose and fell in turn at Alexandria, or, at Rome, the distillation of all faiths and all beliefs, or, in Gaul, the teaching of the Druids, in the Middle Ages those of the monks—if these had been the model and the measure of the reforms which were called for, if, to-day, in response to the new doctrine, our coreligionists everywhere reformed their Judaism in accordance with the ideas and customs of their fellow-countrymen, in every land and in every clime? Do not opinions, customs, needs, vary from land to land, from century to century? Is not Judaism that religion which, more than any other, is destined to wander through the lands and through the centuries? And ought we to see to it that it always belongs to its century? . . .

What if Judaism isolates those that profess it, what if it makes them appear, in the eyes of the people of each century, as belonging to another century? That fact was established clearly in the beginning, in the Bible, and there was no need to wait for modern times to make the surprising discovery. And yet this isolation is but a seeming isolation, and no faith is intended, as much as the Jewish faith, to fill its adepts with an all-embracing love, to give them a spirit to which nothing human on this wide earth can be alien, to inspire them with the warmest, with the most active sympathy for all human suffering, for all human progress, to make them perceive—and greet—the hand of an eternal Providence in the most obscure movements of history, to impel them to raise, on

the very tomb of a morality which has yielded to every species of corruption, the banners which announce the inevitable return to God—for the entire force of this faith resides precisely in making men, everywhere, partake of the conviction that all mankind move, together with Israel, toward the Kingdom of God on earth, a kingdom universally filled with truth and love, purity and justice. Consider Abraham, the first Jew to be isolated on earth. Was there ever a parallel to his isolation? He stands alone, unique, distinct from all, standing out against his day and his entire age; and yet, there was a heart within him filled with sweetness and modesty, filled with universal pity, filled with love for all, even for the most corrupt of his generation. The judgment of God is about to be executed on Sodom and Gomorrah, on the vilest accumulation of corruption that has ever been known—and what is the attitude of Abraham? He prays for Gomorrah, he prays for Sodom! . . . Hardly had God sealed with him and with his posterity the covenant which isolates them from all humanity, before Abraham, standing before his tent in the setting sun, accosted the weary passers-by, strangers and idolaters, and invited them into his dwelling, that he might exercise toward them, as toward all men, whosoever they might be, his pity, his goodness, his divine and universal love.

Is there anything surprising in this? Was not this universalism, this active love toward all that is human, the very essence and aim, the motive and the significance of his isolation? Was it not precisely this universalism which isolated Abraham? . . . He has remained the essential type of Judaism; for the sake of humanity he remained in his loneliness, and for the sake of humanity Judaism must follow, across the ages, the loneliness of its path. . . . Until the day when "the wolf will live together with the ram, and the tiger will lie down with the kid, and the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of God as the waters cover the sea." Then, and then only, when the age will be with God, will Israel be with the age. (Samson Raphael Hirsch.)

THE TWO LAWS

How did Israel manage to explain away the existence of two laws, one proper to the Gentiles, one reserved to the Jews, in other words, two divine religions, two churches of equal legitimacy? The reply may be found in the opening of the address which God put into the mouth of Moses, when the latter spoke to Pharaoh. "Israel is my first-born son." This title of first-born, which the Eternal gives to His people, far from excluding the other children of the Divine Father, serves precisely to include them. Here, indeed, is the fundamental Jewish idea. Humanity is conceived as one great family, with God as the supreme Father; and Israel, the first-born among the brother nations, is, in keeping with the ancient usage of the East, the priest of the family, the keeper and minister of sacred things, the mediator between heaven and earth. He is invested with the priestly function for the benefit of all.

In the light of this teaching, it will be seen that Judaism is twofold in the unity of its doctrine, which is, as we have said, something unique in history. It has two laws, two rules of discipline, two forms of religion: in brief, the secular law contained in the seven precepts of the sons of Noah and the Mosaic or sacerdotal law, the code of which is Torah; the first intended for humanity, the second reserved for Israel alone; the first containing nothing more than the essential principles of religion and morality in accord with universal reason and conscience, the other responding, in its dogmas, its rites, its hieratic precepts, to the mystic needs of humanity —the two necessary aspects of the same eternal Law.

This is the significance of God's election of Israel. Israel has been chosen to fulfil the high function of healer, of preacher and of priest among the nations, something which he owes in part to the merits of his forefathers, and in part to his natural predisposition to receive religious truth, to his profound genius for monotheism—as even independent criti-

cism unanimously proclaims to-day—and to his firm, tenacious and indomitable character, which he needed in order that he might first resist the pagan world, then convince and convert it. . . .

And it is a fact that this little, obscure people, despised and detested by the Gentiles, possessing neither the science of the Greeks, nor the might of the Romans, nor yet the prestige of great antiquity (for, among the old nations of the East, Israel was but of recent origin), to-day sees its religion, its Scriptures, its traditions and its Holy Places become objects of universal veneration. More than this, the very name is claimed by peoples of widely different origins, which formerly professed widely different cults: all of them, as by a miracle, have been remade, to a certain extent, on the model of this people, and all of them claim to be the true Israel. Semites and Aryans, Orientals and Occidentals, barbarians and civilized peoples, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Mohammedans —each of them has exerted himself to reproduce the Biblical type, in his own way, and under the extreme variety of form may be distinguished the substantial unity which dominates them all: the conviction that they are the legitimate heirs of the chosen people. . . .

And thus, beyond Christianity and Islamism, with their greatness—and their failings—beyond Jesus and Mahomet, we rediscover Judaism, with its plan for the organizing of humanity, its aspirations toward a universal renewal and universal fraternity. What a change would have come over the world if, instead of placing the stress almost exclusively on the personality of Jesus, in itself so problematic, and thus reconstructing a new mythology on the ruins of the old ones, Christianity had better understood and adapted the verities of Hebraism which the Nazarene, far from seeking to found a rival church, so ardently sought, as a good Jew, to propagate! If, instead of breaking the natural bond which bound it to Israel, it had laboured, in concert with the latter, for the upbuilding of the great human family whereof the differ-

ent peoples are members equally dear to the Father which is in heaven! How much blood would then have been spared! How many oppressive pages would then have been omitted from the book of history! And how clearly is Judaism justified, in the face of scandals, in the face of the abuse of force, of iniquitous wars which desolate the earth, in sustaining its protest against the unjustified claims of the religions which have issued from it. No, no! You are by no means the Messianic consummation which I preach and await! No, you do not realize the ideal of my prophets! (Elie Benamozegh and Aimé Pallière, *Israel and Humanity.*)

THE VIRTUES OF JOY

It is an easy thing, my brothers, to crush man beneath the weight of his miseries, to make him feel his feebleness, his nothingness. Not only can it be done, but from time to time it must be done, in order that he may be brought back to a just estimation of his worth. Our religion knows how to make use of this when necessary, but does that mean that this desolating picture must be drawn and redrawn incessantly, that the finger must again and again be placed upon the wound? Would it not be to discourage man, to paralyze his efforts in advance? He needs all the energy of his soul in order to sustain successfully, and with honour, the cruel struggle of life; if he weakens, if he doubts his own strength, he is done for; he falls by the way, wounded and bruised. Do not therefore repeat, without respite, that he is nothing more than a useless speck of dust, a grain of sand, carried off by the first breath of wind. He may take you at your word and declare himself beaten before the fight begins. Ah! How much better is the inspiration of our religion! It does not fear to aggrandize man in his own eyes, to boast to him of his high origin and his noble destiny; it shows how God created him with particular satisfaction, heaping the most precious gifts upon him, lifting him almost to the rank of the angels.

Judaism would have nothing to do with exaggerated humility, with blind despair.

My brothers, those who would have it that our religion is a dark and mournful one, know not what they say. Where will you find among us those desolating mysteries which affright the imagination and oppress the heart? In Judaism all is serene, all is reassurance, all invites to joy and to confidence. Do we hold God to be the inexorable Judge who knows not pardon, or the maleficent Power which delights in human torment? What blasphemy, my brothers! Never will you make Israel believe that he adores a hard and cruel God: he knows, by all his history, by the records of his four thousand years, that God loves the mankind He created, and seeks its happiness.

No, Judaism is not a gloomy religion, the enemy of joy. I know this by our customs, our habits, our sacred books, our religious ceremonies, and even by our temples and our traditional chants. The Talmud has preserved the description of a joyous ceremony which in ancient days was practised during the festival of Succoth. To thank God for the rains which he had sent to fructify the earth, we went with much pomp to draw water in golden pitchers at the spring of Siloam, near Jerusalem; and the High Priest, robed in his richest garments, then poured out the libation on the altar. This was not all: in the evening, in the Temple courts, we lighted golden candelabra, held aloft on magnificent columns, and their light was so great that all the streets of Jerusalem were illumined. All around were raised galleries, on which men and women thronged to enjoy the beauty of the spectacle, while those who were most distinguished for rank, for knowledge and for virtue, danced and sang, bearing lighted torches in their hands. The famous Hillel, and Simeon Ben Gamaliel, another distinguished Rabbi, did not disdain to take part in these public demonstrations of joy; and such was the beauty of this religious feast that it excited universal admiration. "He who has not seen this, has seen nothing."

This ceremony, my brothers, disappeared, together with the Temple, in the frightful calamity which engulfed our independence and our nationality. Since those days the Jews have passed through difficult days, and they have known indescribable suffering; but in their souls they have preserved that serenity, that unalterable gaiety, which are the marks of a strong and well-tempered character. In the midst of their mournful pilgrimages, never certain of asylum, never knowing what the morrow would bring forth, the arrival of one of those festivals which recalled the glorious past of Israel gave them the feeling that they had been brought back into their own country. There were times when they had to hide themselves in the most secret places in order to act out their sacred ceremonies; but if we were, in imagination, to find our way into the midst of these hidden reunions, what a strange spectacle would greet us! Are these the unhappy and persecuted ones, threatened on every hand by torture and death? The face shines, the body, lately bent, is erect; a noble pride burns in their eyes; they belong to the Chosen People, and they rejoice in being able to celebrate the festivals of the Eternal.

One thing, my brothers, embellished and sanctified in every age our religious joys—namely, that all Jews, rich and poor, took their part in them. Open the Bible. The festivals are often mentioned; never are the words forgotten: "Let the poor, the orphan, the widow and the stranger rejoice with you. You, whom God has favoured, share your blessings with the disinherited." The very slaves, they who, among other nations of antiquity, were so despised that their very presence at a sacred festival was deemed a sacrilege, even they were bidden to share in the common joy, and to sit with their masters at table. More than that: one touching ceremony linked all humanity with the festivals of Israel. During the festival of Succoth seventy sacrifices were offered on the altar before the Lord. Do you know the meaning of these extraordinary sacrifices? The Talmud gives the answer: they

were intended to draw down the blessing of the Lord on all the nations of the earth. And with the destruction of the Temple, the Talmud adds sadly, the Gentile nations themselves suffered immense loss.

My brothers, let us admire a religion which gave birth to such wonders. Let us do more than admire it: let us love it, honour it, and, more than all, let us be inspired by it. (Zadoc Kahn.)

2. Zionism

THE PRECURSORS OF ZIONISM

Have you never read the words of the prophet Isaiah, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to the heart of Jerusalem, and cry unto her that the appointed time has come, that her iniquity is pardoned; for she hath received at the Lord's hand double for all her sins. The voice of one that crieth in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made a straight place, and the rough places plain. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

Do you not believe that in these words, with which the second Isaiah opened his prophecies, as well as in the words with which the prophet Obadiah closed his, the conditions of our own time are graphically pictured? Was not help given to Zion in order to defend and establish the wild mountaineers there? Are not things being prepared there and roads levelled, and is not the road of civilization being built in the desert in the form of the Suez Canal and the railroad which will connect Asia and Europe? They are not thinking at present of the restoration of our people. But you know the proverb: "Man proposes, God disposes." Just as in the

West they once searched for a road to India, and incidentally discovered a new world, so will our lost fatherland be rediscovered on the road to India and China that is now being built in the Orient. Do you still doubt that France will help the Jews to found colonies which may extend from Suez to Jerusalem, and from the banks of the Jordan to the coast of the Mediterranean? Then read the work which appeared shortly after the massacres in Syria, by the famous writer Dentu, under the title of *The New Oriental Problem.* The author did not exactly write it at the request of the French government, but acted in accord with the spirit of the French nation, when he urged our brethren, not on religious grounds, but from purely political and humanitarian motives, to restore their ancient state. (Moses Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem,* Letter XI.)

THE HISTORIC FOUNDATIONS OF ZIONISM

The significance of Jewish history is twofold. It is at once national and universal. At present the fulcrum of Jewish national being lies in the historical consciousness. In the days of antiquity the Jews were welded into a single united nation by the triple agencies of state, race, and religion, the complete array of spiritual and material forces directed to one point. Later, in the period of homelessness and dispersion, it was chiefly religious consciousness that cemented Jewry into a whole, and replaced the severed political bond as well as the dulled racial instinct, which is bound to go on losing in keenness in proportion to the degree of removal from primitive conditions and the native soil. In our days, when the liberal movements, leavening the whole of mankind, if they have not completely shattered the religious consciousness, have at least, in an important section of Jewry, effected a change in its form; when abrupt differences of opinion with regard to questions of faith and cult are asserting their presence, and traditional Judaism, developed in historical sequence,

is proving powerless to hold together the diverse factors of the national organism—in these days the keystone of national unity seems to be the historical consciousness. Composed alike of physical, intellectual and moral elements, of habits and views, of emotions and impressions nursed into being and perfection by the hereditary instinct active for thousands of years, this historical consciousness is a remarkably puzzling and complex psychic phenomenon. By our common memory of a great stirring past and heroic deeds on the battlefields of the spirit, by the exalted historical mission allotted to us, by our thorn-strewn pilgrim's path, our martyrdom assumed for the sake of our principles, by such mental ties we Jews, whether consciously or unconsciously, are bound fast to one another. As Renan well says: "Common sorrow unites man more closely than common joy." A long chain of historical tradition is cast about us like a strong ring. Our wonderful, unparalleled past attracts us with magnetic power. In the course of centuries, as generation followed generation, similarity of historical fortunes produced a mass of similar impressions which have crystallized, and have thrown off the deposit that may be called "the Jewish National Soul." This is the soil in which, deep down, lies imbedded, as an unconscious element, the Jewish national *feeling*, and as a conscious element, the Jewish national *idea*. (S. M. Dubnow, *Jewish History*.)

SOCIAL AND MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF ZIONISM

The joyous acceptance of the idea of assimilation meant the renunciation of the central idea which had enabled Judaism to live through centuries of oppression, the renunciation of any ideal for the future, the renunciation of every hope of reunion after the dispersion. But such a sacrifice was made at least on the assumption that in exchange Christian society would also renounce definitely all its ancient prejudices against the Jews, and receive them, without equivocation and subter-

fuge, as compatriots, as true brothers. . . . But the close of the nineteenth century witnessed a complete negation of the idea. Anti-Semitism, which, it was believed, had passed into eternal oblivion, reappeared, in a form more terrible perhaps than even the persecutions of the Middle Ages. A new idea rose up in the intellectual life of Europe; the idea of nationalities, substitutions, in part, for former religious ideas. . . . This new religion of blood-brotherhood, this new dogma of physiological relationship, resulted in the same lofty exclusiveness, the same contempt, for those who could not claim this relationship, this blood-brotherhood, as had been characteristic of religious fanaticism at its worst.

Once more the Jew found himself excluded from the nation of which he had thought himself an integral part; once more the wall rose between him and the non-Jew; once more he found himself morally expelled from Europe. This revolution produced different results among different groups of Jews; among some it resulted in more frequent and more numerous conversions to Christianity, and in some places actually caused a sort of mass desertion; among others it resulted in a kind of moral blindness which refused to let them see the existence of anti-Semitism, and compelled them to assert, with disconcerting sincerity, that anti-Semitism did not exist. Others, again, fell on the idea of employing the homeopathic cure; they became anti-Semites, and these were the bitterest of all. In this fashion they acquired a sort of immunity from the anti-Semitism of non-Jews: it was impossible to insult or vilify them more horribly than they abused and vilified themselves.

There was, however, still another attitude, that of a minority of Jews, but of a young and passionate minority, of firm character and lofty idealism. The young Jewish intellectuals, vigorously stimulated by this current of anti-Semitism, recalled the Jewish national ideal which had always been affirmed by the Jew of the East, and, rallying together, sought to revivify a dying Judaism that it might continue its ancient

destiny under the guidance of its unchanging historic ideals of justice, fraternity, charity and knowledge. These young Jews freely took up the idea of the age, the idea of nationality, divesting it, however, of its wild chauvinistic exaggerations and its criminal extremes. They too had refound a nationality, their own, the Jewish nationality; they accepted the idea of race, and were able to boast that theirs was the oldest, the purest human race in existence. This new orientation, it seems to me, should bring forth results which could not be foreseen by those who had light-heartedly renounced everything that is essential to Judaism. We stand at the beginning of a new era; our century will decide whether life or death will win in their struggle over Judaism. (Max Nordau, *The Jews and Judaism in the XIXth Century.*)

POLITICAL ZIONISM

The whole plan is in its essence perfectly simple, as it must necessarily be if it is to come within the comprehension of all.

Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the reasonable requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves.

The creation of a new state is neither ridiculous nor impossible. We have in our day witnessed the process in connection with nations which did not belong chiefly to the middle class, but were poorer, less educated and consequently weaker than ourselves. The governments of all countries scourged by anti-Semitism will serve their own interests in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want. . . .

We must not imagine that the departure of the Jews will be a sudden one. It will be gradual and continuous, and will cover many decades. The poorest will go first to cultivate the soil. In accordance with a preconcerted plan, they will construct roads, bridges, railways and telegraphs, regulate rivers, and build their own habitations; their labour will create trade, their trade will create markets, and markets will

attract new settlers; for every man will go voluntarily, at his own expense and at his own risk. The labour expended on the land will enhance its value, and the Jews will soon perceive that a new and permanent sphere of operation is opening here for that spirit of enterprise which has heretofore met only with hatred and obloquy.

If we wish to found a state to-day, we shall not do it in the way which would have been the only one a thousand years ago. It is foolish to revert to old stages of civilization, as many Zionists would like to do. Supposing, for example, we were obliged to clear a country of wild beasts, we should not set about the business in the fashion of Europeans of the fifth century. We should not take spear and lance and go out singly in pursuit of bears; we should organize a large and active hunting-party, drive the animals together, and throw a melinite bomb into their midst.

If we wish to conduct building operations, we shall not plant a mass of stakes and piles on the shore of a lake, but we shall build as men build now. Indeed, we shall build in a bolder and more stately style than was ever adopted before, for we now possess means which men never yet possessed.

This pamphlet will open a general discussion on the Jewish question, avoiding, if possible, the creation of an opposition party. Such a result would ruin the cause from the outset, and dissentients must remember that allegiance or opposition are entirely voluntary. Who will not come with us, may remain. . . .

Prayers will be offered up for the success of our work in temples and in churches too; for it will bring ease from a burden which has long weighed on all men.

But we must first bring enlightenment to men's minds. The idea must make its way into the most distant, miserable holes where our people dwell. They will awaken from gloomy brooding, for a new meaning will come into their lives. If every man thinks only of himself, what vast proportions the movement will assume!

And what glory awaits those who fight unselfishly for the cause!

I believe that a wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence. The Maccabees will rise again.

Let me repeat once more my opening words: The Jews wish to have a state, and they shall have one.

We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own home.

The world will be freed by our liberty, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness.

And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare will react with beneficent force for the good of humanity. (Theodor Herzl.)

PINSKER AND CULTURAL ZIONISM

In the latter days of his life, Pinsker came to the conclusion—so he told some of his acquaintances, the writer among them—that Palestine was not the country to serve as a place of refuge. The condition of the country and its political situation would be an eternal obstacle. But the eight years of his labour for Palestine were not without their effect, and even though he reached the conclusion that Palestine could not serve us as a place of refuge, he no longer urged, as he had once urged, that we should abandon it altogether and take our Holy of Holies with us to whatsoever country we might pick out. "In spite of everything," he said, "we must strengthen immigration into Palestine to the greatest possible extent. We must and we can found in Palestine a spiritual national centre."

Settlement in Palestine, then, not for the sake of "Auto-emancipation," but for the sake of a national spiritual centre. How did he come upon this idea, which is not mentioned in his pamphlet and which is alien to the work he had pursued?

Such is the question you ask yourselves, and the plain rationalists among you will explain the phenomenon simply

enough by saying that this is a compromise between utter despair and a too long effort. But I, for my part, see something deeper in this change.

The mere discovery—such as he had made—that our self-emancipation could not be effected through Palestine, and that hence some other country would be needed, is no answer to the difficulties. There still remains to be cured that inner decay, that psychosis which has defied all remedies until now. What is the good of finding our own land, when we do not have, as it were, any character of our "own"? "National feeling? Where shall we get that?" Words alone would not create something out of nothing, magically—so much Pinsker had learned from the fate of his pamphlet; and he had learned from his experiences with the Choveve Zion that exalted memories do not suffice for the formation of a creative enthusiasm. Where then would he find a sure and uninterrupted well of strength for Jewish emotion, for a stream of warmth and life toward every fragment of this scattered people, that it might be purified of all decay and putrefaction?

Once this line of thought is adopted, the conclusion is natural that what we need most, even more than "national will," is a national spiritual centre, a place of refuge, not for Jews, but for Judaism, for the national spirit itself, a moral place of shelter in the building and completing of which the Jews of all the world should participate. The very effort alone will suffice, in the first place, to bring together again various elements of Jewry, separated from each other geographically and morally; and when the centre has been created, it will react in turn on every Jewish settlement, sending to the periphery of Jewry a renewal of national feeling and solidarity. Once you have been led to this conclusion, even though you have not devoted part of your life to the work of colonization—as Pinsker had done—you are forced to the conclusion that this spiritual centre can be nowhere but in Palestine. (Achad Ha-Am, *The Parting of the Ways.*)

THE REBIRTH OF THE SOIL OF PALESTINE

Experience has sufficiently shown that the Jew as colonist and pioneer is at home only in Palestine. More or less successful attempts have been made in the Argentine and elsewhere; but none of these settlements has any vital significance for Jewry at large. Their value begins and ends with the individuals who take part in them. With the Palestinian settlement it is quite otherwise. The heart of the Jewish people responds to the efforts of the Palestinian settlers: it recognizes in them not merely a number of individuals, but its own representatives, the vanguard of its struggle toward a new life. That is a natural consequence of the place which Palestine has held for centuries in the Jewish scheme of things. Opponents of Zionism have sometimes tried to reconcile conflicting points of view by admitting that "Palestine is not worse than any other country," that, therefore, "Jews should not be oppressed there," and that "if there is a chance for colonization there, it should be taken." But this is like telling a man that his mother is no worse than any other woman, or that his language is no worse than any other language. Such compromises cannot be seriously discussed. If Palestine is anything to Jews, it is the Land of *Israel*. But is Palestine capable of being the Land of *Israel* in anything but an ideal sense? And, if so, how is this to be brought about?

We have come to think of Palestine as a barren land; but its apparent barrenness is not to be attributed to defects of soil or climate, as its productivity is in no degree impaired. The causes are the scantiness of population, lack of industry, skill, initiative and intelligence, and the want of a local administrative system to encourage the labour of husbandmen to productive activity. If these obstacles were removed and a little exertion bestowed upon it, the soil would soon yield abundant crops of the richest grain, and plantations of all kinds would flourish; the country still answers to the description given it in days of old. A stronger proof of its fer-

tility cannot be adduced than the fact that the territory of Judæa alone, at one period, brought into the field more than three hundred thousand, and, at another time, two hundred and fourscore thousand "mighty men of valor" (2 Chron. 14: 7). According to Flavius Josephus, Galilee alone had hundreds of towns and millions of inhabitants. Even if we do not accept these as exact figures, there is undoubtedly room for several millions of people in Palestine, particularly if the Trans-Jordanic regions are irrigated, the old roads repaired, and the projected railway lines constructed. There may be room in the future even for several millions. The country only awaits repopulation and reconstruction.

This work of repopulation and reconstruction has already been begun by Jews, who have created the nucleus of a flourishing settlement in Palestine during the last thirty years. All this has to be expanded, increased, developed and protected; but the basis is there and the lines of progress are sufficiently marked out. This is the way and there is no other. The Zionist Organization, the Baron Edmond de Rothschild's administration and the Choveve Zion are competent, by virtue of their knowledge and their devotion to the work, to suggest the necessary improvements. They alone know how much they have had to suffer through all kinds of obstacles which impeded and delayed development, through the absence of security in consequence of disputed title-deeds and inability to acquire landed property, through exorbitant taxes, and many other hindrances. Whatever has been done, in spite of these hindrances, is nothing short of a miracle; and a hundred times more could be done, and certainly would have been done, had there been freedom and security. Given these necessary conditions, the Jewish people could find in Palestine a real Homeland, where it could live according to its own spirit and work out its own civilization. (Sokolow, *History of Zionism,* I, 308-309.)

THE RENAISSANCE OF THE JEWISH SOUL. THE FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY AT JERUSALEM

We have to-day laid the foundation stone of the first Jewish university, which is to be erected on this hill, overlooking the city of Jerusalem. Many of us will have had our thoughts cast back to the great historic scenes associated with Jerusalem, scenes that have become a part of the heritage of mankind. It is not too fanciful to picture the souls of those who have made our history here with us to-day, inspiring us, urging us onward, to greater and ever greater tasks. . . .

What is the significance of a Hebrew University? What are going to be its functions? Whence will it draw its students? What language will it speak? It seems at first paradoxical that in a land with so sparse a population, in a land where everything still remains to be done, in a land crying for such simple things as ploughs, roads and harbours, we should begin by creating a centre of spiritual and intellectual development. But it is no paradox for those who know the soul of the Jew. It is true that great social and political problems still face us and demand their solution from us. We Jews know that when the mind is given fullest play, when we have a centre for the development of Jewish consciousness, then coincidentally we shall attain the fulfilment of our material needs. In the darkest ages of our existence we found protection and shelter within the walls of our schools and colleges, and in the devoted study of Jewish science the tormented Jew found relief and consolation. . . . Amid all the sordid squalor of the Ghetto there stood schools of learning, where numbers of young Jews sat at the feet of our rabbis and teachers. . . .

A Hebrew University? I do not suppose that there is any one here who can conceive of a university in Jerusalem being other than a Hebrew one. The claim that the University should be a Hebrew one rests on the values the Jews have transmitted to the world from this land. Here in the pres-

ence of adherents of the three great religions of the world, which amid many diversities build their faith upon the Lord who made himself known unto Moses, before this world which has founded itself on Jewish law, paid reverence to Jewish seers, has acknowledged the great mental and spiritual values the Jewish people have given it, the question is answered. . . . By a strange error people have regarded Hebrew as one of the dead languages, whilst in fact it has never died from off the lips of mankind. True, to many of us Jews, it has become a second language, but for thousands of my people Hebrew is and always has been the sacred tongue, and in the streets of Tel Aviv, on the farms of Hulda and Ben Shemen, it has already become the mother-tongue. Here in Palestine, amid a babel of languages, Hebrew stands out as the one language in which every Jew communicates with every other Jew. . . .

The Hebrew University, though intended primarily for Jews, will, of course, give an affectionate welcome to the members of every race and creed. "For my house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations." Besides the usual schools and institutions which go to form a modern university, there will be certain branches of science which it will be peculiarly appropriate to associate with our university. Archæological research, which has revealed so much of the mysterious past of Egypt and Greece, has a harvest still to be reaped in Palestine, and our University is destined to play an important part in this field of knowledge.

The question of the faculties with which our university is to begin its career is limited to some extent by practical considerations. The beginnings of our university are not entirely lacking. We have in Jerusalem the beginnings of a Pasteur Institute and a Jewish Health Bureau, whence valuable contributions to bacteriology and sanitation have already issued. There is the school of technology at Haifa, and the beginning of an agricultural experimental station at Athlit. It is to scientific research and its application that we can confidently

look for the banishment of those twin plagues of Palestine, malaria and trachoma, for the eradication of other indigenous diseases; it is to true scientific method that we may look for the full cultivation of this fair and fertile land, not so unproductive. Here, chemistry and bacteriology, geology and climatology will be required to join forces, so that the great value of the university in the building up of our national home is apparent. . . . Side by side with scientific research the humanities will occupy a distinguished place. Ancient Jewish learning, the accumulated, half-hidden treasures of our ancient philosophical, religious and juridic literature, are to be brought to light again and freed from the dust of ages. They will be incorporated in the new life now about to develop in this country, and so our past will be linked up with our present. . . .

Our university, formed by Jewish learning and Jewish energy, will mould itself into an integral part of our national structure which is in process of erection. It will have a centripetal force, attracting all that is noblest in Jewry throughout the world; a unifying centre for our scattered elements. There will go forth, too, inspiration and strength, that shall revivify the powers now latent in our scattered communities. Here the wandering soul of Israel shall reach its haven, its strength no longer consumed in restless and vain wanderings. Israel shall at last remain at peace with itself and with the world. There is a Talmudic legend which tells of the Jewish soul deprived of its body, hovering between heaven and earth. Such is our soul to-day; to-morrow it shall come to rest, in this our sanctuary. That is our faith. (Chaim Weizmann, Address delivered on Mount Scopus, July 24, 1918.)

ZIONISM AND THE WORLD

I believe in the actuality of Jewish nationality, and I believe that every Jew has duties toward his coreligionists,

The meaning of Zionism is thus many-sided. It opens out to Jews who are despairing in the Ukrainian hell or in Poland hopes for a more human existence. Through the return of Jews to Palestine, and thus back to a normal and healthy economic life, Zionism means, too, a productive function, which should enrich mankind at large. But the chief point is that Zionism must tend to strengthen the dignity and self-respect of Jews in Diaspora. I have always been annoyed by the undignified assimilationist cravings and strivings which I have observed in so many of my friends.

Through the founding of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, the Jewish people will again be in a position to bring their creative faculties into full play. Through the erection of the Hebrew University and similar institutions, the Jewish people will not only help their own national renaissance, but will enrich their moral culture and knowledge; and, as in centuries past, be directed to new and better ways than those which present world conditions necessarily entail for them. (Albert Einstein, *Jewish Chronicle,* June 17, 1921.)

3. Reform Judaism

THE NEED OF A JEWISH REFORM

The two tendencies are to make Judaism a nation, and to make of it a religious creed. These tendencies are equally untenable. In order that there may be a nation, there must be the national will, and if it be true that Judaism and nationalism are two interchangeable terms, then we can no longer be considered as a nation since the days of Jeremiah. In what sense can Judaism be considered a national religion? The God of the Jews is a jealous God, I know, and suffers no other gods—yet He is the Creator of all the peoples: He has therefore desired them all. How can He be regarded as a national God, seeing that He desired to be acknowledged—and was acknowledged,—and that He revealed Himself in

action, and judged men and nations even before the name of Israel was known, and seeing that this God of the Jews was God without the Jews, and before there were Jews? And yet Judaism cannot be considered as a creed either. . . . Christianity is a creed because it believes that it possesses its own peculiar truths, truths peculiar to the Christian alone, miraculous truths which are not truths to all men, which cannot be found within the human spirit merely as part of the human spirit, but which are imparted only to those who have been enlightened by a special act of grace. But Judaism submits its truths as being part of the verities of all humanity; moreover, it calls on all men to recognize these truths without the aid of special miracles, which means that all men can acquire these truths by the simple exercise of their natural spiritual faculties. (Were it otherwise, how would Noah have found these truths, and why would his generation have been evil in the absence of them?) Judaism is not, therefore, a creed. What is it then? It is difficult to say in a single word or concept; for Judaism is nothing less than *history,* than the *religion of history.* The Bible means no more to Judaism than it means to the child that reads it simply: it is a history. It contains no rules of faith, and no code of dogmas: it is a history, and nothing more than a history. . . . To Judaism the Bible is nothing more than *the history of the education of a people;* and, just as this people was educated by its history, so will every people be educated by its own. . . .

During the Middle Ages, Judaism made no effort to become part of society, such as it was, for it always felt itself opposed to that concept of the world which the church had made its own: if this world is too evil for truth and virtue, and if the kingdom of God can exist only in heaven, then there is no longer such a thing as human history, and earth has no future; but Judaism is founded on the concept of this world's future; it is on this earth that the knowledge of God will become triumphant and reign; it is on this earth that He desires to see realized the heavenly Kingdom of virtue and truth. That

is why Judaism feels itself to be in harmony with the present age, why it feels so profoundly the need to be admitted into modern society; for the modern age cries out for the very things that it demands—an earthly reign of truth and virtue. What this new age seeks to found on principles of reason, the Jews feel within themselves as a religious need, and their whole religion lies therein. They see in the history of their people, as in a mirror, how the education of humanity should be conducted, and whither it should tend—namely, toward the triumph of the spirit; thus every Jew feels the inner compulsion of his religion to co-operate in the realization of the triumph of the spirit, to set the example by his own life, in order that it may spread to all humanity. . . .

It follows that a radical reform of Judaism is no longer a matter of choice, but a religious duty. The task of this century is to introduce into this world the reign of truth and reason, the reign of true and rational law drawn from the sources of the spirit—and this task is precisely our own religious task. . . . And if the practice of our old religious symbolism, instead of furthering this end, only obstructs and delays it, then we must turn to the principle that "to serve God, and preserve the Law, we must destroy it." (Samuel Hirsch, *The Reform of Judaism.*)

THE REFORM OF JEWISH THEOLOGY

Unless Jewish theology is to turn like a coward from the task before it, it will not try to ignore either the results of modern research on the language, history and religion of the Bible, or the indubitable truths revealed by science—however contradictory these be to Biblical concepts. Judaism is a religion of historic growth, its evolution is not to be accepted as final, and it renews itself in every age. There is no need to preserve the leaves that have fallen; there comes a new budding with very spring. Systematic theology will reveal the moving forces of religion, the truths of faith made powerful

by life itself, by the ardor with which they are espoused —and will not seek to hide either their mobility or the changes which they may undergo; and just as, according to rabbinic tradition, the sacred ark contained, side by side with the new tables of the Law, the fragments of the former tables, shattered by Moses, so the new theology will save a place for the past truths of an outlived world, side by side with the truths of a young world of clearer and deeper vision—and its truth will be reflected in many colours from both, as light is refracted in many colours from a prism. (Kaufman Kohler, *Systematic Theology of Judaism.*)

PROGRESSIVE REVELATION

Every creative act is a divine secret: it escapes observation. Thus, in the realm of human activity, the sudden light of the genius appears like the direct action of the divine spirit on the spirit of a man or of a privileged people. In the early ages the divine inspiration was felt chiefly in those spiritual revolutions which accompanied the appearance of a new religion, overturning the beliefs of an entire world. Just as, in the childhood of man, the life of the senses predominates, together with the imagination, thus, and to the same degree, those beings who are specially gifted for the reception of divine impressions in the depths of their soul, apprehend these as apparitions perceptible to the senses. The "seer" sees divinity when, in a condition similar to that of sleep, his personal consciousness, his "I," seems to have been effaced, and he utters, as a prophet, the words which he then heard. This divine apparition in the mirror of the soul is—revelation.

At the birth of all religions and all sects will be found that condition of soul which invites such visions, such contemplation of God. We read in the Holy Scriptures that the prophets of primitive paganism, Balaam, Job and Eliphaz, Abimelech and Laban, received, just like the patriarchs of Israel, revelations of God. What distinguishes the seers or prophets of

Israel from those of other nations is by no means the faculty to receive divine revelations; it is solely the moral character of the divinity which was revealed to the former alone. The national genius of Israel, as made manifest in Abraham, in Moses, in Elijah, and in all the great prophets of the literary epoch, taught with progressive strength the moral force of the divinity, and it was this contact between the human and the universal spirit, God's especial provision, which was destined to play so preponderant a rôle in the history of mankind.

But even in the case of Israel, it was necessary for revelation to pass through various phases according to the phases, more or less advanced, through which the people itself passed. Dreams and visions played an important part, even with the great prophets, if only at the beginning of their career, and in order to serve, as it were, the purpose of a solemn investiture. A more advanced stage is reached when the moral content of the divine message takes hold of the prophet. Instead of being assailed by visions and images, he is now assailed by profound thoughts and new truths, which find utterance in sublime language, and is carried by the might of God to the utmost heights of inspiration; but here again he is moved by an ineluctable force from which he cannot escape. At a still higher stage the prophet receives the divine message in the form of pure thought, and while in full and conscious possession of his intellectual faculties. "God speaks to him as one man speaks to another"—as it is said of Moses, in the Bible. (*Ibid.*)

THE NEW MESSIANISM

The position of the Jew in the Western countries is no longer what it was; he feels himself intimately joined to their civilization and can demand the same rights as his non-Jewish fellow-citizens; this change has resulted in an entirely new orientation of his religious aims and aspirations. He desires, with every fibre of his soul, to be part of his fatherland; he

is distinguished by his religion alone from the people who surround him and whose hopes and aspirations are the same as his own. The idea of a return to Palestine, of the rebirth of a Palestinian state under a Jewish king is insufferable, and the prayer for the restoration of ancient Jerusalem is like a lie on his lips. Thus all the propounders of reform Judaism have unanimously decided against the preservation, within the body of the liturgy and of doctrine, of the passages relating to the belief in a personal Messiah. They have left only the hope of a Messianic epoch of universal knowledge of God and of universal love among mankind, an ideal intimately related to the mission of the Jewish people. In the beautiful words uttered by the second Isaiah for the sorrowful servant of God, the title of Messiah is henceforth conferred upon the Jewish people itself: Israel, the suffering Messiah, will, in the end, become the Messiah of the peoples, crowned and victorious. (*Ibid.*)

THE PROGRESS OF RELIGION

A religion which, dedicated only to itself, and relying only on itself, finds no reason for any changes, begins naturally to evolve as soon as it comes into intimate contact with the moral life, as soon as it seeks to fulfil completely and sincerely its rôle as the guide and inspiration of souls. Primitive religions with a limited outlook have found in the very modesty of their claims the assurance of survival without change—until the day arrives when its disillusioned adepts discover in disgust its emptiness and meaninglessness, and it suddenly collapses. The universal religions—and prophetic Judaism is among these—have higher ambitions, a richer content and a more far-reaching effect, but their existence is therefore more varied. At no time in its development can any such religion afford to remain long out of touch with lay advance, behind the progress of natural science and of history, behind the demands of a more humane morality or a more exquisitely de-

veloped taste. This religion should certainly disdain the fluctuations of fashion—and science has its fashions, no less than art and morality—but if it obstinately closes its eyes and ears to demonstrated and established truths, if it insulates itself in the ivory tower of its pride, if it refuses to assimilate and to consecrate the definite conquests of reason and of secular ideals, it only courts, sooner or later, its own condemnation. Religion—to quote a famous phrase—must be ready to live dangerously if it does not wish to die. (Theodore Reinach.)

THE REFORM OF THE RITUAL

He who has visited, in the cathedral of Milan, the tomb of Charles Borromeo, patron saint of the city, will have seen, on entering the chamber where the body lies, a silver altar, and behind it the glass coffin which contains the sacred relics. The dead saint is dressed in the garb of an archbishop, with a mitre on his head and a crozier in his hand. Mitre, crozier, robe, hands—everything is covered with jewels of extraordinary value. To this priceless relic I readily compare traditional Judaism. Oh, it is adorned with jewels, jewels of experience, jewels of wisdom, jewels of lofty deeds of old —but the jewels adorn a corpse. . . .

Our liturgy is in Hebrew. For my part, I am ready to believe that it is almost impossible to find a language nobler than classic Hebrew. But does it thereby satisfy our spiritual needs? You would speak with God, implore His help, feel that He still consoles and inspires—and I offer you Hebrew as the language of your choice; will it do? Will it enable you to struggle triumphantly against doubt and disaster? . . . I tell you to pray with your hat on, or God will not hear your prayers; does that mean anything to the thirst of your soul?

In former days we believed that every word in the Bible was absolute truth. To quote the Bible was to quote the very word of God. It is no longer so. The labour of scholars

has established the fact that the Bible is the work of the human intelligence, full of the wisdom of the past, rich in necessary truths, but, from the nature of things, a human work, from beginning to end, containing many errors, certain inaccurate views, due to the fallibility of the authors, who were men. This is an extremely valuable result. Considered as the work of God, the Bible is a very poor production; considered as the work of man, it is the most astounding witness of the aspirations of the human soul toward the Eternal. . . .

It was never the desire of Judaism to ensepulture itself either in the mausoleum of a dead language or in the cerements of withered forms. Who would dare to affirm that these doctrines were intended to become a funereal heap which should crush all human aspiration? In saving it through reform, we save the life, the spirit, the heart of it.

And thus we shall be obedient to the voice of God, which says: "Speak to the children of Israel, and command them to go forward." Penetrated by this truth, say whatever you have to say, without fear; fight the good fight against superstition, against ignorance, against prejudice, without fear and without remorse; fulfil your task with courage: and leave the rest to God. (Leonard Levy, Sermon delivered at the Temple of the Union Israélite Libérale, Paris, Nov. 7, 1909.)

THE MEANING OF THE FESTIVALS

The first of the Three Festivals, comprising two days' rest, is the Passover. It celebrates the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage—the exodus from Egypt. What has liberal Judaism to say to this? Has it any meaning for us still? . . .

The Passover practically celebrates the formation of the Jewish people. It is also the festival of liberty. In view of these two central features, it does not matter that we no longer believe in the miraculous incidents of the Exodus story. They

are mere trappings that can easily be dispensed with. A festival of liberty, the formation of a people for a religious task, a people destined to become a purely religious community whose continued existence has no meaning or value except on the ground of religion—here we have ideas which can fitly form the subject of a yearly celebration, of two special Synagogue services, and of two special holy days. It is a matter of comparative unimportance whether the practice of eating unleavened bread in the house for the seven days of Passover be maintained or not. Those who appreciate the value of a pretty and ancient symbol, both for children and adults, will not easily abandon the custom.

The second of the Three Festivals is Pentecost, or the Feast of Weeks. In the Pentateuch it is exclusively a nature festival. It was the celebration of the first-fruits. The Rabbis associated this festival with the giving of the Ten Words and the revelation at Sinai. They supposed that this great event happened fifty days after the Passover. Here again we do not regard the Decalogue as our orthodox brethren regard it. They believe (we are to presume) in the literal accuracy of the nineteenth chapter of Exodus. They hold that God Himself spoke the Ten Words. We accept whatever view the best scholars may take about the date of the Ten Words, and we do not believe that any divine or miraculous voice, still less that God Himself, audibly pronounced them. But their importance lies in themselves, not in their surroundings and origin. Liberals as well as the orthodox may therefore join in the festival of the Ten Commandments. Pentecost celebrates the definite union of religion with morality, the inseparable conjunction of the "service" of God with the "service" of man. Can any religious festival have a nobler object?

The third and last festival, like the Passover comprising two days of rest, is the Tabernacles, or Booths. It was originally the feast of Ingathering. It celebrated the close of the agricultural year. The festival is rather arbitrarily connected with the exodus from Egypt, and the wanderings in the desert,

and all Israelites are bidden to live in booths for seven days, while an extra day of worship and of rest is commanded for the *eighth* day.

For us, to-day, the connection with the wanderings from Egypt, which the latest legislators attempted, has again disappeared. Tabernacles is a *harvest* festival; it is a *nature* festival. Should not a religion have a festival or holy day of this kind? . . .

Liberal Jews no longer believe that God ordered all Israelites to fast upon the Day of Atonement, but there is no reason why they should not fast as a purely voluntary discipline. The fast is, however, a minor and subsidiary feature. In every other respect, the day has only to do with fundamental religious ideas, with the conceptions of sin, repentance, reconciliation, and atonement. Such a day is absolutely fitted and useful for every human soul. It is as sacred and holy a day for the liberal as for the orthodox, for the reformer as for the conservative. (Claude Montefiore, *Liberal Judaism.*)

THE LAW AND LIFE

In spite of Christian theologians (who are ignorant of the true effects of the Law and of the inner spiritual life of the orthodox Jewish congregations of the past and the present) the Law did produce holiness; it did sanctify life. In every generation it produced a large number of saintly and holy persons—persons whom the purest and most spiritual morality would declare to have been holy. It is true that, mixed up with that holiness, there were conceptions and practices which seem to us to have nothing to do with holiness; and it is true that these conceptions and practices have had evil effects: the ceremonial has sometimes triumphed over or submerged the moral, and legalism, which could and can be a noble and spiritual type of religion, became sometimes cheap, external and mechanical. But it is also true that these very conceptions and practices which to us seem so distant and strange

were (and are), by the better and more religious minds in each generation, wrought into the very texture of holiness itself; instead of spoiling the result, they formed a part of its excellence; the outward was transfigured and became also inward. The mechanical forms were shot through with the purest spirituality; they were woven into the very warp and woof of the saintly life. . . .

Now how far is this view of life independent of orthodox dogmas, and how far can it still form part of liberal Judaism? This is a crucial question. For if it can form no part of liberal Judaism, serious consequences follow. A very large gap would then sever liberal from orthodox Judaism, and it might conceivably be that the two religions should not properly be spoken of by the same name. . . . If this view of life is no constituent part of liberal Judaism, which also rejects some of the thirteen articles of faith, is not liberal Judaism hardly to be distinguished from one of the more modern phases of Unitarian or Theistic belief?

In so far as this view of life depends upon the conception of a perfect, divine and immutable law, liberal Judaism cannot share it. With our changed view of the written and of the rabbinic law, our attitude toward ceremonial enactments and symbolic rites, and their place and function in religion, must also undergo a profound modification. We shall not experience the evil of these enactments, but we shall also not experience the good. We shall have to seek the same end with fewer or other means. We shall not misuse the old means, but neither can we use them. For in their fulness and completion they can only be used for good *if the doctrines on which they rest are believed.* When these collapse, to use the means is often a hollow mask, an empty formalism, a sheer pretence. Yet, in spite of our differences in belief, there can still, I think, remain something of truth and value. There can still remain a view of life—it may be even clarified and ennobled—which will link us with our orthodox brethren and with the historic past, and will stamp our religion with a peculiar Jewish char-

acteristic. It will give substance, warmth and colour to the simple dogmas of our faith; it will clothe them with flesh and blood. In addition to the fundamental and distinguishing doctrine of the Mission of Israel, it may tend to differentiate liberal Judaism from those other Unitarian or Theistic faiths which in their historic antecedents are developments or recoils from Christianity. (Claude Montefiore, *Liberal Judaism.*)

ISRAEL AND JESUS

What conclusion may we draw as to the attitude of the modern Jew to Jesus? Perhaps it is well, first of all, to dispose of the question asked most often and most instinctively by Christians, namely, whether the modern Jew accepts Jesus as the Messiah. That Jews, whether modern or ancient, Reform or Orthodox, do not acknowledge the divinity of Jesus, is known to all. It is understood that Jews could not do that, and still remain Jews, as the very foundation of all Judaism is the unity and the spiritual nature of God, and the Jewish religion has never in the least compromised on this fundamental principle. Only in so far as all humanity is divine, formed in the divine image and with divine possibilities, can the Jew associate the idea of divinity with Jesus. It is commonly understood that the acceptance of Jesus as Divinity is quite out of the question for the Jew. But do the Jews of to-day, or any part of them, find it possible to accept Jesus as the Messiah?

The answer is that they do not find it possible so to do. And for the reason that the ideas associated in the Jewish mind with the Messiah were not only left unrealized by Jesus, but have remained unfulfilled to this day. . . .

On the other hand, the modern Jew realizes the ethical power and spiritual beauty of Jesus. In this regard Jesus takes his place among the noble teachers of morality and heroes of faith Israel has produced. It matters not that Jesus dwelt on certain aspects of the spiritual and the ethical life

that other Jewish teachers had failed to treat with the same stress or the same charm. That constituted the originality of Jesus, and Judaism is not averse to originality. . . . It does not mean that Jesus was any less in harmony with Judaism because he accented in his teaching the element of love, of kindness, of brotherliness, of indifference to the material world with its cares and rewards. He thus taught a phase of religion that was part of Judaism, and that has formed the most precious part of it to many a Jewish devotee. Nor is it profitable to debate whether those several teachings of Jesus were duplicated or anticipated by other Jewish teachers. The fact is that in him they found their most harmonious and most complete expression, and that his whole personality, as well as the story of his life, served to impress them most memorably on the mind of the world. . . .

Of course, the modern Jew deplores the tragic death of Jesus. Yet, if it was not inevitable—which perhaps it was—it certainly is irrevocable. Some say it was inevitable, as part of a universal scheme of salvation. Others believe that in so far as it was inevitable, it was due to the calamitous conditions of the age, which destroyed many a Jewish patriot and leader, and ended by destroying the Jewish state, and also, in no small measure, to Jesus' own character, which made him choose rather to die than try to disentangle the web of circumstance in which he was caught. Yet, Jesus died as the true idealist is ever ready to die, with his ideals untouched, uncomprehended but uncowed, with a faith in that Spirit of which he had ever felt himself a child and a part, whose sway he had sought to spread, and in whose keeping he felt safe. And who knows whether it was not by this very death that Jesus gained his immortality, that he won his ascendancy over human hearts, and an imperishable place in the affection of mankind? The modern Jew would rather Jesus had not died as he did; but, after all, physical death is nothing compared to the eternal life of the spirit, and as for martyrs, Jewish history has known them without number. . . . A great many peculiar notions

about the nature and the function of Jesus have accumulated in the course of the ages. Almost all of them are foreign to the Jewish conception, and no doubt would have been equally foreign to Jesus himself. Jesus was neither a Grecian philosopher nor a mediæval metaphysician, and many of the things attributed to him he probably would have resented even more vigorously than the squabbles of the Scribes and the pedantic punctiliousness of the Pharisees. . . .

Yet, all these things apart, who can compute all that Jesus has meant to humanity? The love he has inspired, the solace he has given, the good he has engendered, the hope and the joy he has kindled—all this is unequalled in human history. Among the great and the good the human race has produced, none has even approached Jesus in universality of appeal and sway. He has become the most fascinating figure in history. In him is combined what is best and most mysterious and most enchanting in Israel—the eternal people whose child he was. The Jew cannot help glorying in what Jesus has thus meant to the world; nor can he help hoping that Jesus may yet serve as a bond of union between Jew and Christian, once his teaching is better known and the bane of misunderstanding at last is removed from his words and his ideal. (H. G. Enelow, *A Jewish View of Jesus.*)

Chapter IV

JEWISH LIFE IN JEWISH LITERATURE

1. Religious Life

THE UNIVERSAL PRAYER

It is not you alone that pray, or we, or those others: all things pray, and all things exhale their souls. In all things, in every world, a prayer of the heart is instinctive, as it were the murmur of a prayer, the echo of a prayer. The heavens pray, the earth prays, every creature and every living thing exhales its soul in prayer. In all things, in all life, in every object, there is sweetness and longing. Creation is itself but a sweetness and a longing, a sort of prayer to the Almighty, blessed be He.

What is the Torah? What are all religious storms, all human storms, the wars of man against man, of peoples against peoples—and the conquest of peoples—what is it all but a prayer of the heart, which becomes the whirlwind of a storm? What is their aim, what are the clouds, the going forth and the turning back of the sun, and the moon which gives light, and the gentleness of night—what are these but prayers, prayers that ring and prayers that are whispered, voices that are audible and voices which speak by silences?

God prays, man prays, all creation prays and all creatures pray. But if the ear were attuned to catch these prayers, not a living thing could subsist, because of the greatness and the sweetness and power of these longings. If the senses were attuned, every soul would be drowned in the ocean of song which is made of the song of prayers.

That the world may exist, every prayer must remain in the

heart; it must remain hidden and be not made open save to the elect of the generations, to the remnant; but these few, this remnant, open their hearts to the hearts of the generations to come; and they enter into the dust of books, and the letters burn in brightness, and the prayers, which are buried in books, are heard by the living. (Micha Joseph Berditchevsky, *Meditations.*)

ECSTASY

I saw again . . . yet I saw nothing clearly. . . . Light and shadow were interwoven; the images of things expanded beyond their boundaries, and mingled with each other, the serpentine glimmer of lights encircled the ghostly horizon. Fleeing from the dissolving world, I turned again toward my own body, and knew it to be an isle in the commingling flood. Its essential self of form and line stood firm in a universe of chaos—and yet shaken most wondrously. . . . Instead of the integral stream of life within the human being, I was aware of a certain duality: one half of me was living, the other half had become dead; in neither condition was I aware of substance, but only of forces: in one the command of blossoming life, in the other the compulsion of dissolution. . . . Then, suddenly, toward the extremity, the soul in me stood up. Not that seeming soul which strives toward self-preservation, but the true and ultimate guardian, which strives for perfection. She trembled up out of the horror of my division, and came into being to restore unity to me. But throughout the world she found only confusion and perplexity, but not unity. Hereupon my body was inspired, and achieved the simple act. My two arms rose above me, my two hands bent toward one another, my fingers interlocked, and high above all horror was lifted the tremendous, divine bridge. And then my body became one, all earth became one, and my liberated vision turned back upon myself. . . . I had torn down the eternal wall, the wall within me. From life to death and from death

to life flowed the deep stream of unity. . . . (Martin Buber, *Daniel.*)

THE KABBALISTS

Late that night the pupil awoke the teacher. They slept opposite one another on benches, in the little schoolroom.

"Rebbe, Rebbe!" he called out, in a weak voice.

"What is it?" And the teacher started up in alarm.

"Rebbe—just now I attained to a higher degree!"

"How did you do it?" inquired the teacher, still half asleep.

"It sang within me."

The teacher sat up.

"How was it? How was it?"

"I don't know myself, *Rebbe,"* replied the pupil, in his feeble tones. "I could not sleep, and I thought and thought about what you told me. I wanted to get to know the tune, and I was unhappy because I could not, so that I began to weep; and everything wept within me; all my limbs wept before the Creator.

"And then I made the invocations you taught me—it was wonderful—not with my lips, but somehow inside of me, with my whole self. Then suddenly it grew light, I shut my eyes, and still it was light to me, very light, dazzlingly light."

"Ah!" exclaimed the teacher, and leaned over toward his pupil.

"And oh, I felt so good, so good, because of that light. . . . I thought I had no weight at all, I thought that my body had lost its weight, I thought that I could fly. . . ."

"Yes, yes!"

"Then joy ran through me, I was happy, I was merry. . . . There was no movement in my face, and no movement in my lips—and yet I laughed, oh, I laughed so happily, so heartily."

"Yes, yes!"

"Then something began to sound within me, something like the beginning of a melody."

The teacher leapt from his bench, and in one bound he was at his pupil's side.

"And then? And then?"

"And then I heard how it began to sing within me."

"What did you feel, tell me, what?"

"I felt as though all my desires and senses had been closed, and something was singing within me—real singing, the true singing, singing without words—"

"What kind, tell me, what kind?"

"I can't tell you, I don't know it any more. I knew it before—and then the singing turned into . . . into . . ."

"Turned into what?"

"I don't know, it turned into a kind of playing, as though as though there had been a violin inside of me, or as if Jonah the fiddler had been sitting inside of me, playing the melodies we sing at the Rabbi's table, but it played ever so much better, sweeter, with more spirit, without a voice, somehow, only spirit. . . ."

"Happy art thou!" exclaimed the teacher. "Happy art thou, happy art thou!"

"And now," mourned the pupil, "all is gone, my senses and my desires have returned, and I am tired, I am so tired, so tired . . ."

Then, suddenly, he cried out:

"*Rebbe, Rebbe,* say the death prayer with me! *Rebbe,* they have come for me! There's a singer missing in the choir above, and they've sent for me, a singer with white wings. . . . *Rebbe, Rebbe,* Hear, O Israel . . ."

There was not a man in the village who did not envy the boy his death. Only the teacher was dissatisfied.

"Another fast or two," he moaned, "and he would have died with the Divine Kiss!" [1] (Judah Leib Peretz.)

[1] As Moses is said to have done. See p. 131.—(Tr.)

THE MATHMID

There are abandoned corners of our Exile,
Remote, forgotten cities of Dispersion,
Where still in secret burns our ancient light,
Where God has saved a remnant from disaster.
There, brands that glimmer in a ruin of ashes,
Pent and unhappy souls maintain the vigil—
Spirits grown old beyond the count of time,
Grown old beyond the reckoning of days.
And when thou goest forth alone, at nightfall,
Wandering in one of these, the sacred cities,
When heaven above is quick with breaking stars,
And earth beneath with whispering spirit-winds—
Thine ear will catch the murmur of a voice,
Thine eye will catch the twinkle of a light
Set in a window, and a human form—
A shadow, like the shadow of death—beyond,
A shadow trembling, swaying back and forth,
A voice, an agony, that lifts and falls,
And comes toward thee upon the waves of silence.
Mark well the swaying shadow and the voice:
It is a *Mathmid* in his prison-house,
A prisoner, self-guarded, self-condemned,
Self-sacrificed to study of the Law. . . .

Within these walls, within this prison-house,
Six years have passed above his swaying form:
Within these walls the child became the youth,
The youth became the man, fore-ripened swift,
And swift as these went, swifter yet were gone
The cheek's bloom and the lustre of his eyes.
Six years have passed since first he set his face
To the dark corner of the inner walls;
Six years since he has seen, for joyous sunlight,
Grey limestone, lizards and the webs of spiders;
Six years of hunger, years of sleeplessness,
Six years of wasting flesh and falling cheeks—
And all, to him, as if it had not been.

He knows that Jews have studied thus of old,
He knows the fame and glory they have won.

. . . . . .

Since that dark corner has become his own,
No man, no living thing, has seen his coming,
No man, no living thing, has seen his going.
Not even the rising and the setting suns
Have witnessed his arrival, his return;
The morning-star, black midnight and the moon
Alone knew when he slept and when he rose:
Daylight has never looked upon his ways,
The mid-day sun has never burned his skin.
In the dimmest dawn, "before thou canst distinguish
A white thread from an azure, wolf from dog"—
(Thereby the Jew shall know, the Rabbis say,
The hour for morning-prayer is not yet come)—
In the dimmest dawn, while through the lifeless dark
Ten thousand times ten thousand stars yet shine,
Before the crowing of the cock disturbs
The burghers of the city, sleep-enfolded,
Yea, even before the most elect of faith
Rise to do honour to Creation's Lord:
In that hour, when the world in silence trembles
Before the new awakening of life,
Trembles as if she dreamed the last of dreams,
As if a wandering and secret thought
Made a light stirring in her folded wings—
In that hour from his stolen sleep he starts,
Dresses in darkness and to his corner runs.
Light are his footsteps on the garden path,
Only the winds have heard them passing by,
Only the stars have seen them running swift.

But there are moments when a playful wind
Out of the blue deep like the Tempter comes,
And with a loving hand his earlock fondles,
And whispers to him with dissolving sweetness.
And the boy's eyelids cling to one another,
As if they pleaded with him: *"Brother, brother,*

Have pity on the dark eyes under us;
And we are weary, for with thee we suffer:
A full day we have toiled, a summer day,
And half a summer night: it is enough.
Brother, return and sleep, and we with thee,
Too short thy sleep was to restore our strength. . . ."
But sudden starts the boy, draws his lean hand
Across his eyes, as if temptation sat
Upon his leaden lid: and clear and swift
His footsteps echo from the empty streets.

And then the wind that blows about the garden
Takes up the theme, and gentle is its voice:
"*Green is my cradle, child of happiness,*
Joy in my blossom, ere thine own be withered. . . ."
And left and right of him the flowers and grasses
Speak to him from their dreams, "*We too are sleeping.*"
Even the stars above him take on voices,
And wink: "*We sleep, although our eyes are open.*"
The drunken odours of a thousand flowers
Mount to his nostrils in resistless waves:
They break upon his eyes, his lips, his throat.
He bares his breast then to receive the wind,
And lifts his strengthless hands as if in prayer:
"*O dear wind, take me, carry me from here,*
And find a place for me where I may rest:
For here is only weariness and pain. . . ."
His raised hands bruise against the garden fence,
And tell him he has wandered from the path:
Swift he recalls his vows, recalls his corner,
And turns him from the Tempter's voice, and flees.

In the Yeshivah reigns a sacred silence
Which he, the sacred youth, is first to break;
For there, in the dark corner, wait for him—
Faithful companions since the day he came—
Three friends: his stand, his candle and his Talmud.
As if the moments could not move too swiftly
That lie between him and his trusted friends,

He hastens to his place and takes his stand,
And like a pillar stands from morn till night.
Still standing he will eat his midday crust,
Still standing he will half outwatch the night.
Granite is yielding clay compared with him—
A Jewish boy unto the Torah vowed.

"Oi, omar Rabba, tonu rabonon,
Thus Rabba speaks, and thus our teachers taught,"
(Backward and forward swaying he repeats,
With ceaseless singsong the undying words);
The dawn, the garden, the enchanted fields,
Are gone, are vanished like a driven cloud,
And earth and all her fulness are forgotten. . . .

—Ch. N. Bialik.

THE HOLY SCROLLS [1]

The Scribe: You must know that a scroll of the Torah is a great thing. The foundations of the world are laid on the scrolls of the Torah, and every scroll in itself is as important as the Tables of the Law which Moses brought down from Sinai. And every line in every scroll is pure and holy. . . . The house that contains a scroll of the Law contains God Himself. . . . Not a single impurity can be tolerated there. . . . Guard well the scrolls. . . .

Yankel: Reb Aaron, I want to tell the truth, I want to tell everything. . . . Rabbi, you are a holy man, and I am not worthy that you should be found here, under my roof. . . . Rabbi, I am a sinner . . . she (pointing to his wife) she is a sinner too, we aren't fit to lay a finger on the scroll of the Law. . . . But, Rabbi, in there (pointing to the inner room) my daughter . . . for her sake there may be a scroll of the

[1] Yankel Shabshevitch, a brothel-keeper, has asked that a scroll of the Torah be written for his daughter, whom he and his wife have raised as a pure girl, ignorant of her parents' infamy. His plan for the redemption of his daughter and for his own vicarious redemption is shattered by the contamination which penetrates the close guard he had thrown about his child.—(Tr.)

Law here, she is pure, she is virtuous, she is as pure as the scrolls. . . . Rabbi, see, she is preparing a cover for the scrolls, for her hands are as pure as the scrolls themselves. And I (he beats his breast) I swear that I will not even approach the Torah. . . . (Sholom Ash, *The God of Vengeance.*)

BEFORE THE STATUE OF APOLLO

To thee I come, O long-abandoned god
Of early moons and unremembered days,
To thee, whose reign was in a greener world
Among a race of men divine with youth,
Strong generations of the sons of earth:
To thee, whose right arm broke the bound of heaven
To set on thrones therein thy strongest sons,
Whose proud brows with victorious bays were crowned.
Amongst the gods of old thou wert a god,
Bringing for increase to the mighty earth
A race of demigods, instinct with life,
Strange to the children of the house of pain.
A boy-god, passionate and beautiful,
Whose mastery was over the bright sun
And over the dark mysteries of life,
The golden shadow-treasuries of song,
The music of innumerable seas—
A god of joyousness and fresh delight,
Of vigour and the ecstasy of life.

I am the Jew. Dost thou remember me?
Between us there is enmity for ever!
Not all the multitudes of ocean's waters,
Storm-linking continent with continent,
Could fill the dark abyss between us yawning.
The heavens and the boundless wildernesses
Were short to bridge the wideness set between
My fathers' children and thy worshippers.
And yet behold me! I have wandered far,

By crooked ways, from those that were before me,
And others after me shall know this path.
But amongst those that will return to thee
I was the first to free my soul that groaned
Beneath the agony of generations;
For a day came I would endure no more,
And on that day my spirit burst its chains
And turned again towards the living earth.

The people and its God have aged together!
Passions which strengthlessness had laid to sleep
Start into sudden life again, and break
Their prison of a hundred generations.
The light of God, the light of God is mine!
My blood is clamorous with desire of life!
My limbs, my nerves, my veins, triumphant shout
For life and sunlight.
And I come to thee,
And here before thy pedestal I kneel
Because thy symbol is the burning sun,
I kneel to thee, the noble and the true,
Whose strength is in the fulness of the earth,
Whose will is in the fulness of creation,
Whose throne is on the secret founts of being.
I kneel to life, to beauty and to strength,
I kneel to all the passionate desires
Which they, the dead-in-life, the bloodless ones,
The sick, have stifled in the living God,
The God of wonders of the wilderness,
The God of gods, Who took Canaan with storm
Before they bound Him in Phylacteries.

—Sh. Tchernichowsky.

THE ANCIENT LAW

This night She appeared before me, the Conquered One; her eyes were bound, her neck was bent, her head was bowed.

This night She appeared before me, such as I have seen

her on the cathedral pillar, leaning her rosy hand of sandstone on the broken staff of her standard—the Accursed One—with the tumbled book, with her young hips under the straight folds of her chaste tunic;

This night she appeared before me, the Desolate One.

"In vain, in vain," she said. "Never will you truly love their theatres, their museums, their palaces, their games. Too young will your brow be overshadowed by sadness and pain. All beauty will be luxury to you, all luxury an abomination, all pleasure theft.

"You will believe you love your friends, your neighbours. But stand face to face with yourself. What is it makes your heart beat? It is when you hear hoarse voices, when you see feverish hands, eyes that are all but closed, when the mouth that asks your help cries out to you: It is thy debt to me. For it is your brother who has your soul in his keeping, it is he who declares himself your equal.

"You will try to sing the song of strength, of daring. But your love will be only for the dreamers who face life unarmed. You will try to give yourself up to the joyous song of the peasant, the brutal march of the soldier, the gracious roundelays of merry girls. But the aptitude of your ear will be only for the lamentations which go up from the four corners of the universe." (André Spire, *Jewish Poems.*)

PURE AND IMPURE

"But did I tell you," said the Reb, "the story of the woman who asked me a question the other day? She brought me a fowl in the evening and said that in cutting open the gizzard she had found a rusty pin which the fowl must have swallowed. She wanted to know whether the fowl might be eaten. It was a very difficult point, for how could you tell whether the pin had in any way contributed to the fowl's death? I searched the *Schass,* and a heap of *Shaaloth-u-Tschuvoth.* I went and consulted the *Maggid* and Sugarman the *shadchan,*

and Mr. Karlkammer, and at last we decided that the fowl was *trifa* and could not be eaten. So the same evening I sent for the woman, and when I told her of the decision she burst into tears and wrung her hands. 'Do not grieve so,' I said, taking compassion upon her. 'I will buy thee another fowl.' But she wept on uncomforted. 'O woe! woe!' she cried. 'We ate it all up yesterday.' . . ."

Pinchas was convulsed with laughter. Recovering himself, he lit his half-smoked cigar without asking leave.

"I thought it would turn out differently," he said. "Like that story of the peacock. A man had one presented to him, and as this is such a rare diet, he went to the Reb to ask if it was *Kosher*. The Reb said 'no' and confiscated the peacock. Later on the man heard that the Rabbi had given a banquet at which the peacock was the crowning dish. He went to his Rabbi and reproached him. *'I* may eat it,' said the Rabbi, 'because my father considers it permitted, and we must always go by what some eminent Son of the Law decides. But you unfortunately came to *me* for an opinion, and the permissibility of the peacock is a point on which I have always disagreed with my father.' " (Israel Zangwill, *Children of the Ghetto.*)

THE LAST PASSOVER

Chad Gadya! Chad Gadya! Only one kid of the goat.

At last the family Passover service was drawing to an end. His father had started on the curious Chaldaic recitative that wound it up:

Only one kid, only one kid, which my father bought for two zuzim. Chad Gadya! Chad Gadya!

The young man smiled faintly at the quaintness of an old gentleman in a frock-coat, a director of the steamboat company in modern Venice, talking Chaldaic, wholly unconscious of the incongruity, rolling out the sonorous syllables with unction, propped up on the prescribed pillows.

And a cat came and devoured the kid which my father bought for two zuzim. Chad Gadya! Chad Gadya! . . .

And suddenly the contrast of these quietudes with his own restless life overwhelmed him in a great flood of helplessness. His eyes filled with salt tears. *He* would never sit at the head of his own table, carrying on the chain of piety that linked the generations each to each; never would his soul be lapped in this atmosphere of hope and trust; no woman's love would ever be his; no children would ever rest their little hands in his; he would pass through existence like a wraith, gazing in at the warm firesides with hopeless eyes, and sweeping on—the wandering Jew of the world of soul. . . .

. . . . . .

He stole out softly through the half-open door, went through the vast antechamber, full of tapestry and figures of old Venetians in armour, down the wide staircase, into the great courtyard that looked strange and sepulchral when he struck a match to find the water-portal, and saw his shadow curving monstrously along the ribbed roof, and leering at the spacious gloom. He opened the great doors gently, and came out into the soft spring night air. All was silent now. The narrow side-canal had a glimmer of moonlight, the opposite palace was black, with one spot of light where a window shone: overhead in the narrow rift of the dark blue sky a flock of stars flew like bright birds through the soft velvet gloom. The water lapped mournfully against the marble steps, and a gondola lay moored to the posts, gently nodding to its black shadow in the water.

He walked to where the water-alley met the deeper Grand Canal, and let himself slide down with a soft, subdued splash. He found himself struggling, he recovered the instinctive will to live.

But as he sank for the last time, the mystery of the night and stars and death mingled with a strange whirl of childish memories instinct with the wonder of life, and the immemorial Hebrew words of the dying Jew beat outwards to his gurgling

throat: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One."

Through the open doorway floated down the last words of the hymn and service.

And the Holy One came, blessed be He, and slew the Angel of Death, who had slain the slaughterer, who had slaughtered the ox, which had drunk the water, which had extinguished the fire, which had burnt the staff, which had smitten the dog, which had bitten the cat, which had devoured the kid, which my father bought for two zuzim. Chad Gadya! Chad Gadya! (Israel Zangwill, *Dreamers of the Ghetto.*)

THE SABBATH OF THE POOR

Six days in the week Shmulik the rag-picker lived like a dog. But on the eve of the Sabbath all was changed in his house. The walls were whitewashed, the house was cleaned; a new cloth shines on the table, and the rich and yellow bread, a joy to the eyes, rests thereon. The candles burn in their copper candlesticks, burnished for the Sabbath; and a smell of good food goes out of the oven, where the dishes are covered. All week long the mother of the house has been black as coal; to-day her face is resplendent, a white kerchief is tied on her head, and a spirit of grace has breathed upon her. The little girls, with bare feet, have come back from the bath; their hair is coiled in tresses; they linger in the corners of the room; by their faces it may be seen that they are waiting, joyous hearted, for those whom they love.

"Gut Shabbos," says Shmulik, as he enters; and he looks with love on his wife and his children, and his face beams. *"Gut Shabbos,"* says Moishele, his son, loudly, as he too enters hurriedly, like one who is full of good tidings, and eager to spread them. And to and fro in the house the father and the son go, singing, with pleasant voices, the Sholom Aleichem songs that greet the invisible angels that come into every Jewish house when the father returns from the house of prayer on the eve of the Sabbath.

The rag-picker is no longer a dog; to-day he has a new soul. It is the *Shabbos,* and Shmulik is the son of a king. He says the *Kiddush* over the wine, and he sits down at the table. His wife is on his right, and his children are around them. They dip their spoons into the dish, to take a little soup, a piece of meat, a fragment of fish, of barley, or of the other good things that they know nothing of during the week. The children carry these dainties to their lips with their five fingers, so that they may lose nothing of them. They eat carefully, as attentive to their food as the squirrel at the top of a tree, when he crunches a nut between his teeth, and all his mind and body are concentrated on the act. . . .

Now Shmulik clears his throat and begins to intone a song of the Sabbath. "Beautiful and holy is the Sabbath day." And his voice becomes stronger as he goes on to the *"Ma Yafit,"* and sings of the weary who find rest, and of the wild river *Sambatyon,* which is tumultuous six days of the week, and on the seventh rests from its rage. *"Sambatyon, Sambatyon,* wild with haste every day." *Sambatyon* . . . is not *Sambatyon* Israel? All week long Israel runs from place to place. When the Sabbath day comes he pauses, and rests; and on the eve of the Sabbath there is no more sadness and no more sighing. (S. J. Abramowitch.)

2. The Sentiments

SHELTER ME BENEATH YOUR PINION . . .

Shelter me beneath your pinion
With a mother's, sister's care,
And your lap shall be my refuge
And my nest of secret prayer.

And when tenderness of twilight
Falls, my pain shall give a sign,
There is youth, they say, to squander:
Where is mine?

And another secret longing
Burns my spirit like a flame:
There is love, they say, to garner:
Love? What is that name?

By the stars my life was pilfered,
By a dream that died, and see—
Naked now, and empty-handed—
What is left for me?

Shelter me beneath your pinion
With a mother's, sister's care,
And your lap shall be my refuge
And my nest of secret prayer.

—Ch. N. Bialik.

THE KISS

No, my darling, my dove, thou knowest not yet the kiss that we call a kiss . . .
Close-pressed unto breathlessness, close-pressed until self is confounded,
Breast grown to breast till thou know not thy heart from the heart of thy lover,
Lip to lip molten in purple flame,
And each from the other draws out youth and the ichor of youth,
Draws out the ichor of spring, and renders the passion of summer . . .
The kiss that we call a kiss.

S-s-t! Body is melted and gone, and only the souls, the spirits remain.
Man and the world of man are no more, there is only the world of vision,
Earth from beneath us is vanished, vanished are limits and walls:
The universe hangs on a kiss, exists in the hold of a kiss:

Woe if the kiss be broken, lest the universe fall into dust . . .
The kiss that we call a kiss.

Mine is not the blame, my darling, if the lightning is locked
in my eye,
If my arms and my lips were made for embraces and kisses,
Kisses that know not beginning or end. . . .
There is a fire that burns in our veins, and if, trembling, it be
not spilled.
In the lap of clear-eyed women, pure-ringleted girls,
It will burst from its channels, consume the heart within.
And God, the great God of love will never, oh, never, forgive
us
If the fire of our love should waste, should be lost in the
frozen mists of life,
Should consume in the ice of the north,
If our hearts to the hungry be scattered
And our heat swallowed up by the earth. . . .

—ZALMAN SHNAIUR.

YOU MUST NOT CRY . . .

Girl, you must not cry: I tell you, you must not cry,
For even your tears are empty of meaning.
Oh, I know, I know, they come from the heart—
And in your heart—let be there what will—
Only love is not there.

I ask you now: What is it you want?
Are you thirsty for kisses? You have had kisses enough.
More, have you given me more kisses,
That you ask more kisses of me?

For I cannot bear any longer your shallowness, your poutings,
I cannot bear the falseness in you.
What! Are you offended? No, no, you must not be offended.
I know, I know, you are honest, you are truthful—
Only all this is false, false.

What are you crying for? No, no, you must not cry.
I cannot bear to see a girl crying. . . .
The tears fall like burning coals on my heart,
They burn, they tear my heart.

. . . Once there was a woman—
That was long ago, long ago—and she loved me.
Her love was strong with the strength of God,
And infinite, like the infinite universe. . . .
That woman was my mother. She is dead.

Among the terrible crags I have chosen a path—
Alone.
Has a care ever been yours how I fare on my way?
Has a single Godspeed of yours ever gone out with me?

And why are you still crying? Ah, no, no, no, you must not cry.
You must not, or I will be crying too.
And yet . . .
Perhaps, perhaps . . .
Perhaps, after all, a spark of my mother's soul has awakened in you.

And you rise, you throw your arms round me.
So, so . . . kiss me, kiss me.
By heaven, I am not wicked, I am not wicked.
Only do not cry, girl, do not cry.

—J. COHEN.

FROM "SONGS OF THE PEOPLE"

Two steps from my garden rail
Sleeps my well beneath its pail:
Every Sabbath comes my love
And I let him drink thereof.

All the world is sleeping now
Like the fruit beneath the bough.
Father, mother, both are gone
And my heart wakes here alone.

And the pail awakes with me,
Dripping, dripping, drowsily:
Drops of gold and crystal-clear . . .
And my love is drawing near.

Hist! I think that something stirred;
Was it he, or but a bird?
Dearest friend, my lover dear,
There is no one with me here.

By the trough we sit and speak,
Hand in hand and cheek to cheek;
Hear this riddle: Can you tell
Why the pitcher seeks the well?

That you cannot answer, nor
What the pail is weeping for?
Morn to even, drop by drop,
Fall its tears and cannot stop.

This then tell me, why my breast
Daylong, nightlong is oppressed.
Spoke my mother truth in saying
That your heart from me was straying?

And my lover answered: See,
Enemies have slandered me.
Ere another year be gone,
We shall marry, foolish one.

On that golden day of days
Shall the summer be ablaze.
Fruited branches overhead
Shall in benediction spread.

Friend and kinsman, young and old
Shall be gathered to behold,
And with music and with mirth
They shall come to lead us forth.

And the bridal canopy
In this place shall lifted be.
I shall slip a ring of gold
On this finger that I hold,

And pronounce the blessing: "Thee
God makes consecrate to me."
And my enemies shall there
Burst with envy and despair.
—Ch. N. Bialik.

FROM "SONGS OF THE PEOPLE"

'Tis not day nor evening rightly—
From the town I wander lightly.

On the meadow unencumbered
Stands a fir of years unnumbered.

Truths he knows that are forbidden,
Years to him are things unhidden.

This one riddle, Fir-tree, rede me:
Who will be the man to wed me?

From what place, O skilful guesser?
Warsaw, Krakow or Odessa?

Comes he drawn, a prince no bolder?
Or with bundle on his shoulder?

And what gift with him approaches?
Strings of pearls, or silver brooches?

Dark is he, or merry-gaited?
Widower or yet unmated?

Only one thou must not send me:
From a greybeard's arms defend me!

At my father's feet I'll throw me:
On a greybeard don't bestow me!

Call me disobedient, hate me,—
With a greybeard do not mate me:

Thrust me from you, slay me rather—
Not a greybeard, dearest father!

—Ch. N. Bialik.

FROM "SONGS OF THE PEOPLE"

On a hill there blooms a palm
'Twixt Tigris and Euphrates old,
And among the leafy branches
Sits the phœnix, bird of gold.

Bird of gold, go forth and find me
Him whose bride I am to be:
Search and circle till thou find him,
Bind him, bring him, bird, to me.

If thou hast no thread of scarlet,
Give him greeting without end:
Tell him, golden bird, my spirit
Languishes towards my friend.

Tell him: Now the garden blossoms,
Closed except to his command;
Mid the leaves the golden apple
Waits and trembles for his hand.

Tell him, nightly on my pillow
Wakes the longing without name,
And the whiteness of my body
Burns my couch as with a flame.

If he comes not, hear my secret:
All prepared my coffer stands;
Linen, silk, and twenty singlets
Wrought and knitted by these hands.

And the softest of all feathers
By my mother plucked and stored:
Through the nights she filled the cushions
For her daughter's bridal hoard.

And the bridal veil of silver
Waits to deck me when I marry:
Bride and dowry, both are ready—
Wherefore does the bridegroom tarry?

. . . . . .

Seethe and whisper, magic potion:
Thus the phœnix makes reply:
"In the night to thy beloved
With my secret will I fly.

"In his dreams I give thy greeting,
In his dreams reveal thy face:
Lo! Upon a broomstick mounted
Unto thee he flies apace.

"And he comes and speaks: 'Behold me,
Oh, my joy, my hope, my pride:
Not with golden gifts or dowry,
But with love become my bride.

" 'Gold and silk I have aplenty—
Fire of youth and ringlets fine:
Both I give thee—swiftly, lightly,
Come to me, beloved mine.' "

. . . . . .

When the night was dark above me
And the stars with clouds were stilled,
On his quest the phœnix vanished—
And his words are unfulfilled.

And at morn, at noon, at even,
Still I watch the clouds of fire:
"Clouds above me, answer, Wherefore
Comes he not, my heart's desire?"

—Ch. N. Bialik.

MY RESTING-PLACE

Not where the myrtle tree is green
Seek, my dearest, one, my face.
Beside the blasting shop-machine
Have I made my resting-place.

Not where the birds in freedom sing
Seek, my dearest one, my face.
With slaves whose chains mechanic ring
Have I made my resting-place.

Not where happy fountains play
Seek, my dearest one, my face.
Where tears run through the bitter day
Have I made my resting-place.

And if your love for me be true,
Seek, my dearest one, my face.
There waits a wounded heart for you
To bring peace to my resting-place.

—MORRIS ROSENFELD.

THE MARRIAGE-BROKER

And it was night and it was day, meaning to say it was somewhere in between, toward the evening, when I was passing on my cart through the streets of Boiberick, when somebody stops me—and none other than Ephraim the *shadchan.* Ephraim the *shadchan,* I would have you know, is a *shadchan* like all others, takes his business very, very seriously, and dreams of marriages night and day. "Begging your pardon, Reb Tevyeh," says he. "I've got something to tell you." "Glad to hear it. Hope it's something good." "I have," says he, "a daughter." "Fine," I answer, "I, bless you, have seven." "I know that you have seven," says he, "I have seven of them too." "Well now, that's fourteen altogether," I answer him. "Jokes aside, Reb Tevyeh," says he, "I've

something serious this time. You know I'm a marriage-broker. I've found a husband for your daughter. But not a plain husband, mind you, a husband, one in a thousand, they're not made any better." "I'd like to know," says I, "what it is you call a husband of that kind, one in a thousand and they don't make them any better. If it's a tailor or a sandal-maker, or a Hebrew teacher, tell him to stay where he is, and I'll go on my way. You'll find somebody as good as I for him anywhere. What does the Holy Book say—" "Reb Tevyeh," he interrupts, "are you off on the Scriptures again. It's a day's job to get down to a serious word with you. You're liable to drown a man in Scriptures. Listen now, I'm going to show you what kind of marriage I, Ephraim the *shadchan,* can fix up for you. But you," says he, "have to sit still a minute and just listen." And having said this, Ephraim reels me off the list of the young bridegroom-to-be's virtues—from which it becomes clear that there isn't another like him in the whole world. "In the first place," says he, "the family of this young man is among the finest. I want you to know that. I'm a father myself, and I know I don't want my daughter to marry just anywhere. Family's an important thing. I've got all sorts of families on my lists, good and middling and best, plain people, just ordinary workers, and masters, owners, business men. What's more, this young fellow I'm talking of is none of your ignorant plutocrats—he's got all kinds of education, and, take it from me, this is one of the most important points. I hate an ignorant man as I hate a pig. Better a hooligan than an ignorant man, I say. You can stand on your head ten times a day, and walk about hatless, like a heathen, for all I care, but if you know what the sages taught, then you're a man after my heart. And on top of all that the man is just rolling in money. Drives a carriage, with two fiery horses in front; you can't see him for dust. . . ." "Well," thought I to myself, "not a bad thing, after all, if he *is* rich. There are worse things than being wealthy. What's the saying: Even God dislikes a

pauper. And it's easily proved, too, because if God didn't dislike the pauper, wouldn't he make a rich man of him? Well, go ahead," says I. "Let's hear the rest of his good points." "He's dying to marry," says Ephraim the *shadchan*, "he's dying to arrange a marriage with you, not with you personally, that is, but with your daughter. He's dying for her." "You don't say," I answer. "If he's so far gone, let him die—for her. Who may this wonderful specimen of yours be? And what is he? A bachelor? A widower? A divorcee? A horse-thief?" "A bachelor," says Ephraim. "Not exactly a young man any longer, but a bachelor." "What's the name of your hidden treasure, your golden find?" I ask. Wild horses couldn't drag the name out of him. "Fetch your daughter to Boiberik," he says, "and then I'll tell you." "Fetch?" says I. "Fetch nothing. You can fetch a horse to a market, if you like, to sell it, but you don't fetch your daughter. . . ." (Sholom Aleichem, *Tevyeh the Dairyman.*)

3. Moral and Social

HORSE AND RIDER

On a wild horse, scattering rage and terror,
The rider passed through the streets of the city.
Like storm and the breath of the tempest
Galloped the horse: and like the spray on the surf
Was the foam of its gasping on its nostrils.
Its hooves were harder than the fabulous shamir-stone,
And the rain of sparks flew upward from the road.
And a boy passed with those that went along the road:
"How goodly, how beautiful is that horse,
How well that he crushes not under his hooves
Those that come in at the gate."
And the rider on the horse of terror answered:
"Seest thou not, foolish boy,
The ring and the bridle which hold him back and guide him?
Know that without them he would scatter death
And in the flash of an eye the passers-by would be slain."

How many wilt thou not find on earth,
Wild as the untrained steed, wild as the breath of the tempest,
Whose wickedness would carry the world to destruction,
If it were not for the ring and the bridle of the faith.
(J. L. Gordon, *The Fables of Judah.*)

FOR THE BEAUTY WHICH DECAYETH

Give me free space! For my imprisoned sighs
Give me free space, and for my burning eyes.
I fail, as into crushing armour thrust.
I cannot weep, the heavy clouds of dust
Come up and blind me. And I cannot cry
For I am stifled.

Like the fires that lie
Pent in the iron bosom of the earth,
And eat her heart, and cannot issue forth,
So fires of fury in my heart are pent,
And wither up my blood, and find no vent.

Give me free space! For my imprisoned sighs
Give me free space, and for my burning eyes,
And for the life that sickens,
And for the bloom that fails before it quickens,
In the evil of the generation!
I have seen spirits gentle as the day
On dark and dissolute waters borne away,
In the evil of the generation.
I have seen sons of God deny their birth,
And soil their heritage with lusts of earth,
In the evil of the generation.
And for a vain illusion youth is sold,
And hearts that wake are stilled again with cold
In the evil of the generation.

Where is the trumpet of Messiah
Whose blast of fire
Shall rouse the blood of men and fill
Their hearts with an exalted will

That they may rescue from eternal shame
The works God wrought to glorify His name?
Where is the whip whose burning thongs shall brand
The noble of our land,
Who hide themselves from sight
In marble halls and gardens of delight,
And there grow weary of their empty rest,
And void of strength are unto death opprest;
And tremble not before the wonder,
The vision and the voice of thunder,
Though they have seen and heard the signs that send
Their warning through the land, from end to end.

Blessed the great of heart who shall withstand
The stubborn days and the oppressor's hand,
Whose tears shall fall like quickening rain
And living dew upon the withered plain,
Whose breath shall be to men a wind of grace
In an abandoned and decaying place;
And when the sun shall issue in his might,
The dens of darkness shall be filled with light,
And the smitten blossoms shall rejoice and know
The sun, and raise their heads, brought low
In the evil of the generation.

—J. COHEN.

AND THERE ARE TIMES . . .

. . . And there are times when dreams are vanities.
Shadows of beauty, altars unto love,
And, in the heart, the longings that arise—
All, all are beautiful—and all are lies.

For wind is not a comfort unto hunger,
Nor gold a snare to immortality.
I cry then: "For the bitter truth I long,
Though grim as iron, yet as iron strong!"

I cry then: "Weary is my soul of dreams,
False prophecies, and golden visions false;

For, blinded with their vacant light, I gave
My strength to beauty, an eternal slave."

Though all are trapped, must I with them be trapped?
I shall be first to tear the treacherous net,
And thunder, as the golden strands I sever,
"Down, down with gold. Let iron live for ever!"

—Z. SHNAIUR.

UNDER THE HAMMER

Thud! Thud! The hammer in the hands of Time
Beats on my heart beneath its thunderous rhyme.
Hoary and dumb is he, but on his arm
With life and swing the rolling muscles swarm.
His beard upon his bosom trembling lies,
And strength has veiled its secret in his eyes.

The days with all their sorrows pass like ghosts,
And with the hammer beats the march of hosts.
So changed beneath the tireless fall and rise,
'Tis not my heart that on the anvil lies—
So vacant and so wan, so void of dreams,
And once resplendent with a thousand gleams. . . .

'Tis not my heart, my heart of passions vain,
The plaything of the daughters of disdain,
The slave of every wandering ray of grace,
Bribed with the laughter in a girlish face,
'Tis not my heart since I have made my vow—
To you, blind smith, it is abandoned now.

Smite hard, old smith, smite hard and do not spare;
My heart has paid with weeping and despair.
Smite on the weaknesses that still remain!
Smite hard, until the heart is mute to pain!
A heart of dreams and weakness is not meet
In days of greed, of softness and deceit. . . .

And where the heart is bruised with love or hate,
There ply the hammer fiercest. I will wait
Until, responseless as thrice-molten steel,
Nor love, nor hate, nor hope can make it feel.
And when of smiting I have had my fill,
I'll take my heart again to work my will.

I will arise and cry: "Ye valiant men!
I came with dreams once, and you scorned me then.
My tears you met with the contempt of might,
But now I come to weep not, but to smite. . . .
Woe to the hearts which laughed at all I dreamt!
Yours be the tears now—mine be the contempt. . . .

"And you, my golden visions and my dreams,
And hopes resplendent with a thousand gleams:
In vain you gather round my heart, in vain
You raven for the gates to ope again;
Enough that once your seeds were scattered there,
For all I reaped was folly and despair.

"And you, my pretty ones, the days are gone,
When, flesh and blood for you to feed upon,
My heart was with eternal want accurst—
And yours be now the hunger and the thirst. . . .
Bite on my heart now, as you did of yore,
And break your teeth upon the iron core."

—Z. SHNAIUR.

THE POOR STUDENT

And so, on a certain day, I was coming home from Boiberik, having delivered my wares—a regular load, butter and cheese and cream and what not—and I sat aloft on my cart, plunged in thought, and meditating, as usual, on a million things: on heaven and earth, on this and that, on the fate of man, on the rich Jews of Yehupetz, with their wealth and their happiness, and on myself, Tevyeh the dairyman, and my

nag, working like slaves all the days of our lives—and for what? . . . The sun burned overhead, the mosquitoes plagued us, and the world was open on every side of us, beautiful, big, free, and I felt like opening wings and flying, or stripping myself naked and plunging into a pool for a swim. . . .

Then, suddenly looking up, I saw a young fellow stepping out across the sand, a package under one arm, and sweating and panting for all he was worth. "Hello, young feller-my-lad," I said, "here, come aboard, plenty of room in this sumptuous chariot; take a seat, I'm going your way anyway. Besides, you've read the Scriptures, I don't doubt—'if thou seest thy neighbour's ass' . . . you know the text. The more so in the case of a man, what?" The young tramp didn't wait to be asked twice, grinned, crawled up into the cart and sat down beside me. "Where might a young fellow like you be coming from on a day like this?" I ask him. "Yehupetz," he answers. "And what kind of business might a young fellow like you have in Yehupetz?" "A young fellow like me?" he says. "Sitting for examinations." "And what," I ask him, "might a young fellow like you be studying to be?" "A young fellow like me," he answers, "hasn't any idea himself what he is studying to be." "If that be the case," says I, "what should a young fellow like you be wasting his time for?" "Don't worry, Reb Tevyeh," says he; "a young fellow like me knows what he's about." "Well, now, if you do happen to know my name," says I, "maybe you'll be kind enough to tell me who and what you are." "I am a man," he answers. "Thank you," says I, "it's not hard to see you aren't a horse. What I mean to say is, who d'you belong to?" "I belong to God," he answers me. "Right," says I, "that's what the Scriptures say, all living things and all beasts. I mean to say, where d'you hail from? Are you from these parts, or d'you come from Lithuania?" "I'm from these parts," he says, "and you know me." "Well, then, who's your father?" "My father," says he, "was Pertchik." "Hang you for a young jackass," I answer. "Did you have to waste half the after-

noon before you told me? Pertchik the cigarette-maker's son!" "That's me," he says. "And a student!" "A student," says he. "Excellent," says I. "And all the animals came in, two by two. And now tell me, Pertchik, the cigarette-maker's son, what d'you live by?" "I live by food," says he. "I mean," says I, "what d'you eat?" "I eat whatever I get," says he. (Sholom Aleichem, *Tevyeh the Dairyman.*)

THE RABBI OF NEMIROV

Round about the *Sliches* days, shortly before the New Year, when Jews the world over pray for the remission of sins and for a happy year to come—round about Sliches days, early in the morning, the Rabbi of Nemirov was wont to disappear, vanish!

He was nowhere to be seen; neither in the synagogue, nor in the study-rooms, nor making one in a group at prayer—least of all, of course, was he to be found at home. The door of his home stood open, and men and women went in and out at will: nothing was ever stolen from the Rabbi's house. But not a living thing was to be seen there.

Where *could* the Rabbi be?

Where, indeed, if not in heaven? Busy days, these, for the Rabbi, the days before the New Year. Are there not Jews enough, bless them all, in need of a livelihood, of peace, health, matches for their daughters? Are there not Jews who *want* to be good, and *would* be good if it were not for the Evil Spirit, who looks with his thousand eyes into every nook and cranny of the world, tempts and then tells, reports it in heaven that such and such a one has fallen. . . . And who is to come to the rescue, if not the Rabbi himself?

Everybody understood that.

But once there came into Nemirov a *Litwak,* a Lithuanian Jew. *He* thought otherwise. *He* laughed at the whole story. You know those Litwaks, enemies of the *Chassidim,* cold-blooded and exact. It's little enough they care about any-

thing but what's written in black and white, proof positive, and no mistake about it. They want chapter and verse before *they* believe anything, and their heads are crammed chockful of texts, the whole Talmud by heart. They'll prove to you, beyond the veriest shadow of a glimmer of a doubt, that Moses himself, while he lived, couldn't get into heaven: he had to stop ten levels below—the book says so. How then shall the *Chassidim* mount into heaven? Can you argue with a man like that?

"Well, where do *you* say the Rabbi goes during those days?" we ask him angrily.

"No business of mine," says he, shrugging his shoulders. And, believe it or not, he made up his mind to get to the bottom of the business—and that's what a Litwak is like.

And that very same evening, soon after prayers, this fellow steals into the Rabbi's bedroom, hides himself under the bed, and . . . waits. He was ready to wait all night just to find out what became of the Rabbi in the early mornings of those Sliches days.

Any one else would have dozed off and fallen asleep. A Litwak has a way of getting round it. He kept awake just by repeating in his mind a whole tractate of the Talmud—*Chulin* or *Nedarim*—I don't remember which.

In the early dawn he hears the beadle going the rounds, waking good Jews to Sliches prayers.

But the Rabbi had been awake for something like an hour already, lying there and moaning to himself.

Whosoever has heard the Rabbi of Nemirov when he moans in his affliction knows what burden of grief, of anguish for his people he bears. No one could hear him, and not weep with him. But the heart of a Litwak is every bit of it iron. He heard, but he lay there, under the bed, while the Rabbi, God be with him, lay on the bed.

Then the Litwak heard how the beds throughout all the

house began to creak, as the household woke from sleep. He heard the murmuring of words, the splash of water, the closing and opening of doors. Then, when the household had departed, the house was silent and dark once more, except where a moonbeam broke through a crack in the shutters. . . .

He confessed afterwards, did the Litwak, that when he found himself alone in the house with the Rabbi, he was seized with fear. He felt a creeping in his skin, and the roots of the hair of his beard tingled and pricked like thousands of needles.

And reason enough, too. Can you imagine it—he alone in the house with the Rabbi, in the early morning, on a day of Sliches? But a Litwak is a Litwak . . . he trembled like a caught fish—and endured.

At last the Rabbi, God bless him, began to get up.

He dresses himself first, then he goes to the clothes-closet and takes out a bundle, and out of the bundle tumbles a heap of peasant clothes, a smock, a huge pair of boots, a big fur cap with a leather strap studded with brass buttons.

The Rabbi puts these on, too.

From one of the pockets in the smock there stuck out the end of a thick rope—a peasant's rope.

The Rabbi leaves the room. The Litwak follows.

Going through the kitchen the Rabbi stoops, picks up a hatchet, hides it under his smock and goes on.

The Litwak trembles—and persists!

The dread of those days of judgment, the Sliches days, before the beginning of the New Year, lies on the dark streets. Here and there you could hear the cry of Jews at prayer; here and there you heard a moaning from a sickbed at an open window. The Rabbi sticks to the shadows, flits from house to house, the Litwak after him.

The Litwak hears the beating of his own heart keeping measure with the heavy footsteps of the Rabbi. But he persists, follows—and is with the Rabbi when the end of the town is reached.

There's a little forest at the end of the town.

The Rabbi, God bless him, plunges into the forest. Thirty or forty paces within the forest he stops near a young tree, and the Litwak nearly drops with amazement when he sees the Rabbi take out his hatchet and begin to chop at the tree.

And the Rabbi chops steadily at the tree until it begins to give, creaks, bends and then cracks. And the Rabbi lets it fall, and begins to chop it up, first into logs, then into chips. He gathers up the chips into a bundle, binds it round with the rope which he takes from his pocket, throws the bundle over his shoulder, shoves the hatchet back under his smock, and begins to walk back to the town.

He stops in one of the poorest alleys at that end of the town, at a broken-down hut, and knocks at the window.

A frightened voice asks from within: "Who's there?" The Litwak recognizes the voice of a sick woman.

"*Jo,*" answers the Rabbi, in the accent of a peasant.

"*Kto jo,* who's there?" the same frightened voice asks, in Russian.

"It's I, Vassil," answers the Rabbi, in the same language.

"Which Vassil? I don't know you. What do you want?"

"Wood," answers Vassil, "I've got wood to sell—very cheap, next to nothing. . . ."

He waits for no answer and makes his way into the house.

The Litwak steals after him, and, by the grey light of the dawn, looks round the room, broken, poor, unhappy. . . . A sick woman lies in bed, wrapped in rags, and in her sick voice she says, bitterly:

"Buy? What shall I buy, and how? What money have I, a widow, and sick."

"I'll give it to you on credit," says Vassil, "six groschen in all."

"And where shall I ever get the money to pay you back?" the sick woman moans.

"Foolish woman," the Rabbi rebukes her, "see, you are a

sick woman, and a widow, and I am willing to lend you this wood. I will trust you. I am certain you will pay for it some day. And you have a great and mighty God in heaven, and will not trust Him. You will not trust Him to the extent of six groschen. . . ."

"And who will light the fire for me?" she moans again. "I am sick and have not the strength to rise, and my son is away at work."

"I'll light it for you," says the Rabbi.

And the Rabbi bent down to the fireplace, and began to light the fire, and as he arranged the wood he repeated, in a low voice, the first of the Sliches prayers, and when the fire was well lighted he was repeating the second of the Sliches prayers. . . .

And he repeated the third of the Sliches prayers when the fire had died down—and he covered the oven. . . .

The Litwak, who had seen everything, remained in Nemirov, became one of the most passionate adherents of the Rabbi of Nemirov.

And later, when the adherents of the Rabbi of Nemirov told how, every year, in the dread Sliches days before the New Year, it was the custom of their Rabbi to leave the earth, and to ascend upward, as high as heaven, the Litwak would add quietly, "And maybe higher, too." (Judah Leib Peretz.)

NEW WARES

To the world's great market
I bring merchandise unique,
Love authentic and untarnished—
Let who wants it speak.

Neither gold nor silver
Buys from me my merchandise:
My payment be that I may see
The joy of him that buys.

Loud across the market
Rings my challenge: "Come and take!"
And wild with answering laughter
Earth and heavens shake.

"Welcome, merry merchant:
Merriest we have met with yet!
How shall we re-sell the goods?
What's the profit, net?

"Fool! If once your wares are current,
There's the finish of our race!
Get thee gone! Within this market
Fools are out of place."

Let me be a fool, then—
This much I have understood:
All your wares are made alike—
Human sweat and blood.

—ABRAHAM RAISIN.

THE WAVES

The waves which unravelled their length upon the sand sang: Who is this man wandering along the beaches? What do his sharp eyes seek? Why does he follow persistently the line of our foam? Why does he bury himself so passionately in us? Why does his heart beat? Why has he this love for us?

We are clear, say some, we dance. We are grave. We are indolent. We are green. Blue. We are white.

A burst of surf cried out: What painter is there who has captured with his ground clays the light foam which flees from us? Who has copied the bubbles which expand in us, and dissolve with a rushing noise? We are filled with sea-weed and with shattered shells; we are insatiable and troubled like the soul of him. Why does his heart beat? Does he love us?

Children, said the rising tide, the hope of him is that you will swallow up the cities of injustice. (André Spire, *Poèmes juifs.*)

CREDO

Laugh at all my dreams, my dearest;
  Laugh, and I repeat anew
That I still believe in man—
  As I still believe in you.

For my soul is not yet unsold
  To the golden calf of scorn
And I still believe in man
  And the spirit in him born.

By the passion of his spirit
  Shall his ancient bonds be shed.
Let the soul be given freedom,
  Let the body have its bread!

Laugh, for I believe in friendship,
  And in one I still believe,
One whose heart shall beat with my heart
  And with mine rejoice and grieve.

Let the time be dark with hatred,
  I believe in years beyond
Love at last shall bind the peoples
  In an everlasting bond.

In that day shall my own people
  Rooted in its soil arise,
Shake the yoke from off its shoulders
  And the darkness from its eyes.

Life and love and strength and action
  In their heart and blood shall beat,
And their hopes shall be both heaven
  And the earth beneath their feet.

Then a new song shall be lifted
To the young, the free, the brave,
And the wreath to crown the singer
Shall be gathered from my grave.
SH. TCHERNICHOWSKY.

4. Israel and the World

THE CHILDREN CONSCRIPTS

Well, I was caught and put into prison. I was not alone. Many young boys had been brought there. Some were crying bitterly; some looked at their companions wonderingly. We were told that the next day we should be taken away to some place, and that the Rabbi wished to come to see us, but was not permitted to enter our prison.

Yes, a good man was the Rabbi, may he rest in peace; yet he was compelled to cheat for once. And when an honest man is compelled to cheat, he may outdo the cleverest crook. Do you want to know what the Rabbi did? He disguised himself as a peasant, went out, and walked the streets with the rolling gait of a drunkard. The night guards stopped him, and asked him what his business was. "I am a thief," said the Rabbi. Then the guards arrested him and put him into prison with us.

In the darkness of that night the Rabbi never once ceased talking to us, swallowing his own tears all the while. He told us the story of Joseph the righteous. It had been decreed in heaven, said the Rabbi, that his brothers should sell Joseph into slavery. And it was the will of the Almighty that Joseph should come into Egypt, to show the Egyptians that there is only one God in heaven, and that the Children of Israel are the chosen people.

Then the Rabbi examined us: Did we know our *Modeh Ani,* the morning prayer, by heart? Did we know our *Shemah,* the proclamation of the Unity of God?

He told us that we should be taken very, very far away,

that we should be away many, many years, and should become soldiers when we grew up. Then he warned us never to eat of any food forbidden by Jewish law, and never to forget the God of Israel and our own people, even if they tore our flesh with thorns. He told us also the story of the Ten Martyrs, who sacrificed their lives to sanctify the God of Israel. He told us of the mother and her seven children that were killed for having refused to bow before idols; and he told us many more such things. All these saints and martyrs, he said, are now in Paradise, enjoying the bliss of the Divine Presence. That night I really envied those saints; I longed with all my heart to be forced to bow to idols, to have to withstand all sorts of trials, so as to enjoy, after my death, the bliss of the Divine Presence.

Morning came and the guard entered the prison. Then the Rabbi turned toward us and said: "Lambs of the God of Israel, we have to part now; I am going to be lashed and imprisoned for having entered this place by a trick, and you will be taken into exile to undergo your trials! I may hardly be found worthy of surviving until you return. But there, in the true world, we shall surely meet. May it be the will of God that I may have no reason to be ashamed of you there, before Him and His angels, in heaven!"

We parted, and the words of the Rabbi sank deep into my heart. (Judah Steinberg, *In Those Days.*)

HOW HAPPY YOU ARE!

How happy you are, how happy you are! Goodness, your nose is almost straight. And there are so many Christians with hook-noses! How happy you are, how happy you are! Goodness, your hair has hardly got a curl. And so many Christians haven't straight hair!

How happy you are, how happy you are! You are hardly dolichocephalous any more! And there are so many Christians whose heads aren't round. How happy you are, how happy

you are! Your face is almost immobile. And there are so many Christians whose faces are not!

How happy you are, how happy you are! Your head and your shoulders hardly gesticulate! And, bless me, there are sometimes Christians who speak with their hands. How happy you are, how happy you are! The Christians ask you to all their affairs! You behave there almost as badly as they!

With your frock-coat on, in your dinner-dress, you know exactly how to murmur: "Delicious!" "Charming!" with the same *chic* as the best of them. How happy you are, how happy you are! When the evening is over they take you with them to the places they wind up their pleasures in!

They are merry, with full-mouthed, full-handed mirth. They go their ways, but you, what are you doing in your corner?

What are you doing in your corner, sad and uncouth, full of pity, full of contempt? Jew? You haven't the stomach! Such suppleness, such self-mastery, such effort—and it comes to nothing.

Take hold of yourself, do what the others do; or they will laugh at your nose! Drive away that worthy old soul of yours which has come so far in search of you! (André Spire, *Poèmes juifs.*)

ANTI-SEMITISM AT THE CLUB

THIBAUT: One moment, sir.

GUTLIEB: Sir?

THIBAUT: I am Prince Clar—

GUTLIEB: I know it. . . . I mean, I recognize you, Prince. . . . That is, I know you by sight. . . .

THIBAUT: Sir, it is only an unexpected and imperious duty which forces me to address you to-day, for the first and the last time. . . .

GUTLIEB: At your service. . . . Shall we go in?

THIBAUT: It would be useless. These gentlemen who are

present do not disturb me. On the contrary. Mr. Gutlieb, there are a great many of us, at the rue Royale, who will feel outraged as Christians and as Frenchmen, if your name continues on the roster of our club—

GUTLIEB: But—

THIBAUT: I am certain that you do not wish to inflict on my friends and myself this unwelcome company, and that you will be glad to give me, here and now, your resignation. I am waiting for it.

GUTLIEB: Prince, you surely do not ask me seriously to—

THIBAUT: Quite seriously.

GUTLIEB: No, no! You have not thought the matter over. . . . . Prince, it is impossible, it is lunacy, it is—

THIBAUT: And why? It is easy for you to turn back, sit down at the table you have just left, and write two or three lines to the President. . . .

GUTLIEB: I tell you again, it is an outrageous request. . . . You cannot be acting in cold blood. . . . I cannot even ascribe a motive to such conduct.

THIBAUT: You would think me rather simple if I were to make public in your presence the wrong which we wish to right.

GUTLIEB: But in any case, Prince, I have been a member of the Club thirty years, and no one has the right—

THIBAUT: Please! I am not going to open a debate on the subject.

GUTLIEB: Nor am I, Prince, and I—

THIBAUT: Well then, let's be done with it. . . . Look me straight in the eyes. And first of all—

GUTLIEB: But—

THIBAUT: Look me straight in the eyes, and we'll talk to each other as man to man. . . . There!

GUTLIEB: Prince, think of my age and yours, and carry the matter no further. . . . Let me pass—

THIBAUT: Not before you have given me your reply.

GUTLIEB: I shall give you no reply. I want to pass.

THIBAUT: Then I am forced to make clear to you the consequences of your refusal. I have told you that your name next to mine is an insult to me. If you do not hand in your resignation, we shall settle the matter on the field.

GUTLIEB: I shall not fight with you. Let me pass.

THIBAUT: Your patience makes my task particularly painful, but I shall not fail in it. If you do not resign I shall force you to fight.

GUTLIEB: I beg you, let me pass.

THIBAUT: Is that your final word? (*With the end of his cane he knocks off* GUTLIEB'S *hat:* GUTLIEB *makes only a slight motion with his head.*) Is that all? (*A pause.*) Gentlemen, you are witnesses.

(Henri Bernstein, *Israel,* Act I, Sc. 6.)

WHAT SHALL WE DO?

Shall we appeal to them, the people of poetry and thought, in the name of their thinkers and poets? In vain. The prejudices which we thought dead have given birth to thousands of others, as worms multiply in the dust. Turn the right cheek if they strike us on the left? In vain! They would be neither touched, nor troubled, nor disarmed. They would strike us again, quite simply, on the right cheek too. Utter, in the midst of this outcry, a word of common sense? In vain! They will say: "Look at him slobbering. Shut his mouth up for him." Set, in our conduct, the most perfect of examples? In vain. They will say: "We don't know anything, we haven't seen anything, we haven't heard anything." Seek obscurity? In vain. They will say: "He hides himself, the coward. His conscience must be troubling him." Approach them, frankly, with outstretched and open hand? In vain. They will say: "What tactlessness! How clearly you see the insensitive Jew!" Help them to shake off their chains? In vain. They will say: "How much did he make out of it?" Be faithful to them in peace, faithful in war? In vain. They

will say: "He can turn his hand to everything. He is protean." Live for them, die for them? In vain. They will say: "The Jew remains a Jew, first and last." (Jacob Wassermann, *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude.*)

BARUCH OF MAYENCE

Here are the graves. And here is thy grave too.
Three days ago their bloody sacrifices
Were brought here to be thrust into the earth.
Thou too art buried here, my dearest one!
Not even a Star of Zion marks the spot.
Yet I have found thee. . . . Secretly I came,
And not one living eye has seen my coming.
I came to tell thee all that chanced to me
Since the dread day whereon I met my death. . . .
For I am dead! And I who speak to thee—
I am no longer I. . . . I am another. . . .

Dost thou remember yet the desolate day,
The day of wrath, when God abandoned me?
On that day all the bells throughout the land
Woke storm and tumult with their evil tidings.
And wild one bell unto the other called,
"Woe to the daughter of the House of Jacob!"
And in the streets the thronging multitudes,
Peasant and soldier, artisan and priest,
Gathered like famished wolves about their prey—
Deaf to the weeping of the children, deaf
To the moaning of the mothers, blind and deaf
To age and sickness. And about the victims,
Spattered with foulness, driven torn and bleeding,
They howled like wolves for blood, for blood, for slaughter!
And suddenly a poignard flashed before me,
A band was gathered round me, and one voice
Above the others howled the question at me.
I saw their wild-beast faces. And I saw

The hand outstretched, the poignard at my throat.
And I made answer in a stifled voice,
And what I answered I remember not.
But I remember now their house of prayer,
The pealing of the organ, candle-lights . . .
A multitude of voices like a sea,
The priests, the cowls, the singing of the monks—
And in me the bewilderment of death.

. . . . . .

And then I cursed my people and my God.
I cursed the breasts that once had suckled me.
And all that had been sacred to my fathers,
I spat upon; pronounced anathema
Against the hopes and longings that had been
Until that day the dearest of my life.
Yea, I denied my people and my God,
The God of holiness.
Then suddenly
My childhood rose to life before my eyes.
And I was young again. I was a boy
Awaiting my *Bar-mitzvah,* and again
For the first time I bound upon my arm
The *Tephilin;* and I saw my father's face
Shining with happiness. And through my flesh
There ran a thrill of joy and holy pride.
For I was now a man, and on my shoulders
Rested the sacred burden of the Law,
The *Torah* of my Maker and Redeemer.
What strength was in my soul! In all the world
That day, there was no happiness like mine.
And as I bound the *Tephilin* on my arm
I counted: One, two, three . . . and seven times
I wound them on my flesh, and drew them tight
Until the skin beneath was flecked with blood.
"Behold I bind thee unto Me forever!"
And I had shamed the bond God made with me.
"I bind thee unto me in faithfulness!"
And I was faithless in the day of trial.

. . . . . .

Listen, dear heart; listen, my dearest one,
For now thou wakest. I have brought with me
Tidings of horror. Listen, dearest one,
And I will whisper to thee. Dost thou know?
Our children, our two daughters, now are free. . . .
My hand gave back the freedom to their souls.
Miriam rebelled at first, and Zipporah
Clung to her sister and looked long at me
As if imploring mercy. . . . She was first.
I could not bear the pleading in her eyes. . . .
My daughters, O my daughters, turn from me!
Mine eyes are seared. One vision like a flame
Burns up my brain, and withers with its fury
My heart, my blood, my strength.

. . . . . .

I am the man, the father, who
With his own hand his daughters slew.
The knife was firm and trembled not
Until the hilt with blood was hot.
The lives which God to gladness gave
I have imprisoned in the grave:
I could not, dared not let them live,
Their young and stainless spirits give
A prey to those whose hands were red
With bloody guilt of human dead. . . .
O well for thee, in darkness set!
Rememberest thou thy daughters yet? . . .
O my daughters, my daughters, my daughters!

. . . . . .

Accursed be thou for ever, cruel race!
Accursed for ever be thy evil name!
The wrath of God shall dwell with thee for ever.
The blood that thou hast sacrificed, the tears,
The moaning of thy victims, shall arise
In one wild flood against thee, and the sound
Shall be a horror in the stormy night.

. . . . . .

Ha! How fearful is the night!
Here in the dark I feel

The cold that cuts into my heart
Like driven steel.
But through the town are crimson flames
As from a furnace blown.
And the hand that lit the furnace there
Was mine alone.
Look! The dull-glowing clouds of smoke
Roll further, higher.
The monastery burns and wraps
The town in fire.
When I had lit the funeral pile
I lingered there
And joy was in my heart to watch
Their fierce despair!
How good, how good, to mark the bitter tears
The holy fathers shed!
To hear the wailing and the wild lamenting
For the dead!
I laughed to see one man wrapped up
In flames as in a mesh,
Screaming he ran, and as he ran
The fire devoured his flesh.
Oh, long I laughed remembering
The horrible eyes,
The terror and the flight, the prayers,
The dying cries.

And when the altar was prepared
Then did I bring
Two daughters for a sacrifice—
A burnt offering.
Then from the town I came to thee.
Arise, dear heart, return with me.
The flames I lit are burning bright,
Arise, and we will walk in light.
And where the flames the fiercest burn,
Thy daughters wait for thy return. . . .

—Sh. Tchernichowsky.

NIGHT

I know that this my crying, like the crying
Of owls on ruins in a wilderness,
Wakes neither consolation nor despair.
I know that these my tears are as a cloud
Of barren waters in a desert land,
That my lament, grown old with many years,
Is strengthless in the stony hearts of men. . . .
Still the unhappy heart in vain laments
And seeks in vain to weep itself to rest.

From my pent prison I put forth my head
And call unto the storm and question it,
And search the clouds and with the gloom confer—
When will the darkness and the tempest pass?
When will the whirlwind die and the clouds scatter
And moon and stars break forth again in light?
I search from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven:
No sign, or answer—only storm and night.

Within the womb God consecrated me
To sickness and to poverty and said:
Go forth and find thy vanished destiny.
Among the ways of life buy air to breathe
And steal with craft a beggar's dole of light,
Carry from door to door thy beggar's pack;
Before the wealthy crook the knees for bread. . . .
But I am weary now with wandering:
Ah, God, my God, how long is yet the road?

From the dark womb, like an uncleanliness,
On a heap of gathered foulness I was cast,
Unwashed from filth, with rags for swaddling-clothes,
My mother stretched to me a withered breast
And stilled me with the bitter milk of madness.
And in my heart a viper made its nest
And sucks my blood to render it in poison.
Where can I hide me from its burning fangs?
God! answer me with either life or death.

In the broad sky the light clouds are unravelled
And stars among them are like single pearls.
The wind moves dreamlike in the tranquil darkness
And in the wind still broods the peace of God.
And a faint whisper, like a secret kiss,
Laden with revelation, stirs the grass,
And sleep that heals and comforts falls on earth—
But not on me, the outcast,—not on me.

In the dead night-time I begin my song,
When two alone awake, my pain and I.
Beneath my skin my bones are turned to dust,
My weak eyes fall, for they have wept too long.
Now my song wakens like a bird at dawn,
Her dewy wings beat rain into my heart
And melt the tear-drops on my frozen eyes . . .
In vain, in vain, for tears alone I know.

Bring me not rain-drops, but a fount of tears,
Tears that will shake the hearts of men with storm;
Then by the ancient mounds of desolation,
By the ruined Temple, by my fathers' graves,
Where the road passes I will take my stand,
And travellers on the road will pity me,
And charity will waken with their pity.
There let men hear thee, O my song, until
Thy tears are ended and my pain is stilled.

—Ch. N. Bialik.

THE FROGS

Quark, quark, quark, quark. . . . Listen to the joyous croaking
Of the Frogs,
Of the cold Frogs, the sleek, cold Frogs.
How goodly are they in their own eyes,
Hopping and dancing in their bed of ooze,
Fat with delight of mud, drunk with the smell of mud,
Chanting, great-hearted and full-voiced, chanting
The righteousness of the Frogs, the wisdom of the Frogs.

If you do not know the Frog-folk,
Then listen, I will tell you of them.
Though in form and colour they be diverse,
By these signs, the signs of the Frog-folk,
May they all be known:
Narrow head and mighty paunch,
And great glass eyes,
Eyes bulging with greed,
And, in their eyes, treachery and terror.

And do you know their dwelling-place,
The dwelling-place of the Frogs?
Do you think they inhabit the deep heart of ocean,
That they stir and rouse to anger the heart of ocean,
Like children of Leviathan? Oh, no!
But yonder they dwell, on the edges of the ponds and marshes,
Yonder, where for water there is noisome stagnation,
Where the ooze at its deepest comes up to the hips,
Where sunlight is changed into treacherous twilight,
Where malodorous vapours, vapours of sickness, bubble up;
There the Frog-folk swarm and spawn.
The foul waters of the ditches are living waters to them,
Darkness is light; a delight and an ecstasy
Is the slime of the depths, the odour of filth.
Multitudes, countless multitudes, wander in the darkness
In quest of booty—the booty of mudworms.
And for the sake of booty Frog quarrels with Frog,
And for the sake of booty there is love between them.

And do you know the righteousness of the Frogs?
He that hunts the mudworm most,
He that puffs himself up most,
He is righteous.
Him the congregation holds in honour,
And his praises are sung by the sons of mud.

And do you know the wisdom of the Frogs?
He that is best at singing the song of the Frogs—
He is the wisest.

And if you, my brother, know not the song of the Frogs,
I know it.
Oh, many a long day did God condemn me
To dwell among the marshes,
Many a long day have I stood there, silent, listening,
Listening to the song of the Frogs and learning it.
And this is the song of the Frogs.

Quark, quark, quark, quark!
Life is smooth and cool and dark!
Leave fantastic dreams alone
And mind no business but your own.
For wisdom's aim, the wise one knows,
Is obedience—and repose.
Quark, quark, quark, quark!

For what will be, has been.
Nothing the wisdom of old surpasses;
Our fathers were wise, and their children are asses.
Eternal their laws, beyond question or doubt;
Our business is only to carry them out.
And what has been, will be.

How goodly is our lot!
What could be better than this our dance
Which is our ancient inheritance?
'Tis full of logic, of common sense,
And wisdom and experience.
How goodly is our lot!

Long live the world of mud!
What pleasure or temptation lies
In deserts, or seas, or open skies?
But bless the mud that shelters one
From tempests and the burning sun.
Long live the world of mud!

Quark, quark, quark, quark!
Life is smooth, and cool, and dark!

This is the song of the Frogs, but wait a little, brother,
I will reveal to you the soul of the Frogs.
Not in the likeness of fire is their soul, of a flame
Lifting arms towards the sun.
Its likeness is the aftermath of fire,
A handful of ashes, smoke and sparks. . . .
And the sparks glow in the ashes,
Ascend in the smoke,
And whirl and wander and fall, and are swiftly extinguished.

Wait a little longer, and I will tell you, O knowledge-hungry one,
What lies in the heart of the Frog.
Do you think that they search the deeps of the golden heavens,
That they wander free under the golden heavens
In the greatness of love, in utter devotion,
Like the children of eagles? Oh, no!

One cubit, two cubits
They hop at times from the edge of the swamp
Into the green couch by the shadow of rushes;
There for a brief hour they doze in the sunlight,
Dreaming.
(Who knows what crazy sun-dreams
Are born then in the tiny reptiles?)
There they taste in stealth
The joy of the forbidden . . .
Till a sunbeam by chance scorches them,
Or a light sound startles them,
The sound of a bird's wing, footstep of man or beast—
Oh, then! Repenting bitterly of their indiscretion,
Hop! hop! back into the marsh!

Ho, ho, how good it is
To see them in the terror of that moment,
To see the sickness and confusion in their hearts!
Ho, ho! How good, how good it is
To mark and consider this unhappy race,
To consider its ways, its lusts, its wanderings and movements,

To hear the noises of its idiot multitudes,
And to laugh! Out of the wells of the free and living heart,
to laugh!

What? . . . Is this a thing for laughter?
Nay, it is a thing to *smite!*
For hear my words, O House of the Free,
And ye Children of the light, hearken to my prophecy!
A day approaches, and it is near at hand, a day of visitation,
And the Lord will send the Frogs upon us!
Then all the marshes will spawn Frogs,
And they will come up from the marshes and into our houses,
And into out eating and our drinking.
And the croaking of them will deafen our ears,
Till a man will not hear the words of his brother.
And the odour of slime will spread about the earth
Till the air will be a stink in our nostrils.
And this plague of the Frogs will be
Of all the plagues the greatest that has smitten earth
Since the day when the first man and woman did eat
Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. . . .

Let us arm to-day! Let us fight the Frogs with light!
We will draw the sun out from his course
And with his burning beams dry up the marshes,
And the Frogs will die.

And if it be that God denies His mercy to no living thing,
And He has appointed for every living thing a place
In the order of His mighty kingdom,
Yea, and even for the Frogs has taken thought
That their memory and their remnant shall not be cut off,
Then let the Frogs remain in their appointed place!
But our boundary, which is the boundary of the sun,
They shall not cross, and from all our land
They shall be wiped away, and hunted into the rivers,
And only in the rivers shall they dwell.

—J. COHEN.

THE DEAD OF THE WILDERNESS [1]

Yonder great shadow—that blot on the passionate glare of the desert—
'Tis not an army of lions couched in the sun with their young ones,
'Tis not the pride of the forests of Bashan uprooted and fallen:
Those are the Dead of the Wilderness under the sunlight recumbent.
Hard by their tents are they laid, like children of Anak for stature,
Stretched on the desolate sands like numberless lions in slumber;
Under the might of their limbs the floor of the desert is hollowed.
Armed as for battle they sleep and clad in the armour of giants;
Swords like to crags at their heads and spears twixt their shoulders protruding,
Sound to their girdle the quiver and firm in the sand is the lance thrust.

Deep in the earth are their heads sunk, heavy with tangles neglected,
Matted and monstrous and vast, and uncouth as the mane of a lion;
Matted and monstrous and vast are their beards like to tangles of serpents.
Strong are their faces and burnished, and darkened to bronze are their eyelids,
Targets to arrows of sunlight and rocks to the fury of tempests.
Hard are their foreheads and grim and changeless upturned to the heavens,

[1] The subject of this poem is derived from a Talmudic legend which says that the Jews who left Egypt did not die in the desert, as the Bible tells, but were cast into slumber.—(Tr.)

Eyes that are cruel and terrible peer through the tangle of eyebrows.
Cast as of lava upthrown from volcanoes and hardened their breasts are
Lifted like anvils of iron that wait for the blow of the hammer;
Yet though the hammer of time beats long and unceasing upon them,
Like to the stone that enfolds it the strength of their hearts sleeps for ever.
Only the faces unmoving, the breasts multitudinous, naked,
Strangely are covered, like ancient memorials, with runes of the desert
Graven by arrows and swords which the tempests have tossed and uplifted.
And when the eagle descends in his flight to behold he shall read there,
Graven on breast and on brow, the tale of unbroken endurance,
How many arrows and spears these breasts have encountered and shattered.

Sunlight and darkness revolve and cycle succeeds unto cycle,
Stormwinds awake and are stilled and the desert turns back to its silence.
Far stand the crags, as amazed in beholding the first things created,
Clothed by the silence with splendor, the proud, the eternally lonely,
Limitless, limitless stretches the wilderness, lifeless and soundless.
Lost to the end of all time is the jubilant voice of the giants,
Laid into stillness for ever the tumult that followed their footsteps;
Where they once trod are now lifted the sandhills and crags of the desert.
Silence has breathed on the mighty and cast into slumber their fierceness,
And the hot winds of the desert eaten their strength and their beauty.

Fierce burns the sun on the blades gigantic and wears them to brightness;
Blinding arrows of sunlight shot at the heads of the lances
Break into myriads of sparks that are dashed on the breasts of the sleepers
Lying there bared to the desolate sunlight for ever and ever.
Dried by the withering east-wind, dust of their bodies is lifted,
Whirled into other lands, scattered under the footsteps of pygmies;
Jackals there nuzzle with unclean snouts in the ruins of heroes.
No one remembers among them the old generation of giants
Fallen and turned into voiceless stone in the sands of the desert. . . .

Sometimes a shadow is born alone on the face of the desert,
Floats on the sands till it reaches the ranks of the army of sleepers,
Trembles a moment above them and breaks into circles of motion,
Suddenly chooses a body outstretched and over it stands and is moveless;
And the body beneath it is darkened and half of its neighbour.
Suddenly quivers the air as the pinions stupendous are folded.
Full with his weight like a meteor descending he falls on his victim—
One of the eagle-kings, crag-born, crooked of beak and of talon.
Over the breast of the sleeper a granite-like talon is lifted;
Yet but an instant and granite on granite will ring in the stillness;
And in that instant he pauses and stands with his talon uplifted,
Stilled and rebuked in his pride by the loftier pride of the sleeper;
Wondering stands, then unfolds the strength of his pinions and rises,
Beating great waves through the air and screaming in stretches of sunlight,

Scales untiring the measureless heights and is lost in the splendour.
Long, long after still flutters, held fast on the point of a lance-head
One grey feather that fell unseen and unmarked was abandoned,
Flutters and strains at the lance-head and fluttering earthwards is wafted.
Silence returns to the desert and peace to the sleep of the heroes.

Sometimes when midday is hot and the desert swoons under the sunlight,
Slides from its fastness a serpent, vast as the beam of a weaver,
Issues to warm on the sands the glistening rings of his body.
Now he shrinks on himself, coils himself moveless and breathless,
Languid with joy in the warmth and bathing in light as in waters;
Now he wakes and uncoils and stretches his length in the sunlight,
Opens the width of his jaws and his scales are like network of lightnings,
Spangled and knitted in splendor, a lonely delight in the desert.
Sudden he starts from his languor, leaps into rigid attention,
Bends and unwinds on the sand, then swiftly he glides from his station
Over the waste, till he reaches the army of sleepers and stands then,
Lifted one-third in the air, like a column of bright hieroglyphics,
Raises his crown and outstretches his neck and his eyeballs green sparkle.
Swaying he broods on the slumbering army from margin to margin.
Vast is the soundless encampment and countless the dead it encloses,
Numberless, numberless faces and foreheads exposed to the heavens.

Then like a flash reawakens the hatred of dead generations,
Gleams in the start of his eyes like a brand that is sudden uncovered.
Hatred instinctive and ancient runs through the shuddering body.
Trembling he lowers his head and darts with it hither and thither,
Hangs then suspended an instant and stares in the face of a sleeper.
Under their hoods are his eyeballs twin centres of hatred and fury;
Hissing he opens his jaws and the flash of his fangs is uncovered—
And in that instant he pauses, sinks on the coils of his body,
Stilled and rebuked in his rage by the bitterer rage of the sleeper,—
Sinks and uncircles his length and turns from the visage of granite,
Moves off, a rhythm of waves till his splendour is lost in the distance.
Silence returns to the desert and peace to the sleep of the heroes.

Moonlight descends on the waste and sleeps on the measureless broadness,
Lays on the desert a garment speckled with light and with shadow.
Pallid the wilderness league after league rolls from dimness to dimness.
Broad at the foot of the towering crags are their shadows recumbent,
Couched like dragons primeval, things from the dawn of creation.
Gathered in monstrous conspiracy under the cover of darkness—
They will arise ere the morning, return to the caverns they came from.
Mournful the moon from her loneliness looks on the mystery threefold—

Wilderness, midnight and monsters crept out from the dawn of creation.
Lapped is the desert in merciless dreams of its old desolation,
Wails in its dreams, and its wailing half-uttered is broken and stifled.

Sometimes a wandering lion, thewed as with roots of an oak tree,
Massive and certain of footstep comes down to the army and stands there,
Raises his head from his shoulders, heavy, magnificent-crested.
Fitfully gleam the two eyeballs over the enemy army;
Vast is the army outspread and its vastness is utterly silent;
Dark is the sleep of the heroes, there is not an eyelid aflutter.
Shadows of lances, like thongs, are close on their bodies and bind them.
Moonlight is spilled on their faces and rims the black mass of their eyebrows.
Stonelike in wonder the lion stares at their slumbering power,
Till from his wonder awaking he shakes with his roaring the desert,
Startling the mountains and setting the flanks of the desert atremble.
Far pours the strength of his voice, and the crags in the distance give answer,
Hither and thither is rolled till it crumbles in fragments of thunder.
Then in a wailing responsive arises the cry of the jackals,
Mingles with howling of beasts till the night-time is hideous with voices—
This is the wail of the desert, a desperate protest and bitter,
Worn with the infinite vigil and weary with long desolation.
Still stands the lion, intent on the tumult his strength has awakened;
Silent he turns from the dead and is kingly again in his silence,
Turns and departs like a king and his eyes are like torches attendant,
Massive and certain of step departs and is lost in the darkness.

Long is the desert awake and its bitterness will not be silenced,
Long it moans for its ancient pain and the comfortless future.
Dawn returns and the desert is weary from moaning, and slumbers,
Slumbers and yet is awake, and shrinks from the day and its evil.
Slow dies the moon in her pallor and droops to the rim of the heavens;
Stealthy the shadows arise from under the crags, and they are not.
Gaunt stand the rocks to the morning and anger is written upon them;
Under the wrath of their looks the desert is timid and trembles,
Strains to answer with anger responsive and fails and is voiceless,
Stilled by the shattering sun. And silence returns as for ever.
Deep is the sleep of the heroes . . . and cycle succeeds unto cycle.

But there are moments when, tortured too long by the silence eternal,
Wild with unbearable sickness of æons, the desert uprises,
Wakens and rages for vengeance against the inhuman Creator,
Raises a column of sand to ascend to the fastness of heaven,
Once and for ever to meet Him and shatter the throne of His glory,
Once for the torture eternal to loose the floods of its fury,
Sweep his whole world into darkness and bring back the kingdom of chaos. . . .
Then the Creator is stirred, and His anger envelops the heavens,
Like a great cover of iron, He bends them to blot out the desert.
Red from the blast of His breath, the flame of His anger outbreaking
Wraps the desert in fury and scatters its crags in a furnace.
Stubborn and bitter the desert responds, and new furies are loosened,

Rise from the bowels of Hell, and all earth is in fury confounded.
Seized by the madness that spins like a vehement wheel in the vastness
Tigers and lions, with manes unlifted and eyeballs aglitter,
Join in the riot infernal, and howl with the voice of the tempest,
Lifted and torn by the strength of the tempest like gossamer insects.
And in that instant—
Wakes the terrible power that slumbered in chains,
Suddenly stirs and arises the old generation of heroes,
Mighty in battle: their eyes are like lightning, like blades are their faces.
Then flies the hand to the sword.
Sixty myriads of voices—a thunder of heroes—awaken,
Crash through the tempest and tear asunder the rage of the desert.
Round them is wildness and blindness:
And they cry
"We are the mighty!
The last generation of slaves and the first generation of freemen!
Alone our hand in its strength
Tore from the pride of our shoulders the yoke of bondage.
We lifted our heads to the heavens and behold their broadness was narrow in the pride of our eyes,
So we turned to the desert, we said to the Wilderness: 'Mother!'
Yea, on the tops of the crags, in the thickness of clouds,
With the eagles of heaven we drank from her fountains of freedom.
And who is lord of us?
Even now, though the God of vengeance has shut the desert upon us,
A song of strength and revolt has reached us, and we arise.
To arms! To arms! Form ranks! Forward!
Forward into the heavens and the wrath thereof.

Behold us! We will ascend
With the tempest!
Though the Lord has withdrawn His hand from us,
And the Ark stands moveless in its place,
Still we will ascend—alone!
Even under the eye of His wrath, daring the lightning of His countenance,
We will carry with storm the citadels of the hills,
And face to face in combat encounter the armed foe!
Listen!
The storm, too, calls unto us—'Courage and daring!'
To arms! To arms! Let the hills be shattered and the mountains blasted into dust,
Or let our lifeless bodies be heaped in countless cairns.
Forward!
On to the hills!"

. . . . . .

And in that instant the desert is wild with a fierce anger—
And who shall conquer it?
In the storm goes up a terrible voice, a mingling of cries.
It must surely be
That the desert is bringing to birth a deed of evil,
A bitter thing, a cruel and a terrible. . . .

Passed is the tempest. The desert is silent, and pure is the silence.
Bright is the broadness of heaven, and marvellous quiet beneath it.
Now from their terror awaking, the caravans trapped in the tempest
Rise from their crouching and call on their God and adore Him and praise Him.
Still in the sand are the sixty myriads of heroes aslumber.
Darkened their faces, for death has brought them to peace with their Maker.
No man knoweth the place of their slumber. The crags of the desert,
Split by the strength of their rising, over them closed in their falling.

Sometimes a rider, in daring adventure his caravan leaving,
Spurs his horse ever onwards and enters the heart of the desert.
Strong is the heart of the rider, and swift is the horse to the spurring.
Riding he flings up his spear in the sunlight, and takes it descending,
Throws it and takes it again, and throws it again and pursues it;
Like to a river of lightning it flashes and dances before him.
Far in the distance a vision appears, and the horse is drawn onwards,
Mounts with its rider a hill the clouds overtopping—and sudden,
Quivering it pauses and looks, then bounds to the rear by its whole length.
Startled the rider uplifts his hand for a shadow and gazes. . . .
Stonelike he stands with his horse, and the terror of God is upon him.
Then leaps the horse in its strength and, turning, descends like an arrow. . . .
Fast spurs the rider and halts not until, with his caravan meeting,
Swift he dismounts and tells of the vision he saw in the stillness.
Marvelling listen the Arabs, and wonder is writ on their faces.
Then speaks the oldest amongst them, a patriarch sprung from the Prophet,
Answers the tale of the rider: "Blessed be Allah the True One;
For by the Beard of the Prophet, it was not a vision thou sawest.
Those are the Dead of the Wilderness thou hast discovered and gazed on.
This was the host of the Lord, a people of valour gigantic,
Older than man can remember—yea, of the first generations,
Stubborn and strong was this people, stiff-necked as the crags of the desert,
Deaf to the word of their Prophet, and proud with the God of their fathers.

Therefore He cast sleep upon them, and sealed up their path
with the mountains,
Laid His command on the wilderness for a memorial eternal. . . .
Allah protect true Believers from touching the hem of their
garments.
Once did a son of the Faithful lay hand on a fringe and uplift it.
Withered his body became till the fringe was restored to the
sleeper.
These are the sires of the race of the Book. . . ."
Then the speaker is silent,
Wordless the Arabs have heard, and they tremble and give
praise to Allah.
Silent they walk at the side of their camels to weariness laden.
Long is the whiteness that gleams on their hoods to be seen
in the distance.
Slow sway the camels their monstrous backs till they fail in
the brightness,
Bearing away from the desert one more of its marvellous
legends.
Stillness returns as of old. Desolate stretches the desert.

—Ch. N. Bialik.

OUT OF MY HOUSE

Out of my house
Lonely I wandered—
And on a sudden,
Wherefore I know not,
Sadness and tenderness
Glowing and infinite,
Rose in my heart;
Till overflowing
Love and compassion
Seemed from my heart
Earthward to bear
Burdens of anguish
Age-long endured,

Burning and bloody,
Age-long endured.

Silent I looked on
Faces that passed me,
Saw on them written
Sorrows unuttered,
Saw on them clearly
Tears still undried:
Pale, multitudinous,
Drifted the faces,
Changing, rechanging.
One I beheld not—
Multitudes drifting—
One I beheld not
Out of the multitudes
Stranger to pain.

Wrinkled the faces,
Meagre and bloodless,
Shadowed the foreheads
Bitter the lips,
Eyes over all
Brooding abysmal—
Deeps of despair,
Dens of emotions,
Refuge of dreams.
Wordless the faces
Spoke and declared
Sorrows uncounted,
Humiliations,
Hopes unfulfilable,
Dreams done to death. . . .
Clearly I learned it:
All of their eyes were
Fountains of tears,
All of their hearts were
Graves of desire.
All of the multitude,

Dust of mortality,
Out of the multitude,
Numberless drifting,
One I beheld not
Stranger to pain.

Children amongst them!
Young birds of Paradise,
Angels of guilelessness;
Bells are their golden tones,
Bells of futurity;
Flesh that is blossoming,
Glances clear-sparkling,
Laughter still ringing
Sinless and sacred.
Even on them I see,
Darkling between their eyes—
Comfortless heritage—
Shadows awaking,
Shadows of pain. . . .
Countless the tears these
Eyes have already shed!
Countless the sorrows,
Countless, remorseless,
Waiting to wither these
Blossoms of youth.

Out of my house
Lonely I wandered—
And on a sudden,
Wherefore I know not,
Sadness and tenderness
Glowing and infinite,
Rose in my heart;
Till overflowing
Love and compassion
Seemed from my heart
Earthward to bear
Burdens of anguish

Age-long endured,
Burdens of anguish,
Burning and bloody,
Age-long endured. . . .

—J. COHEN.

MOSES AND JESUS

In dream I saw two Jews that met by chance,
One old, stern-eyed, deep-browed, yet garlanded
With living light of love around his head.
The other young, with sweet, seraphic glance.
Around went on the town's satanic dance,
Hunger a-piping while at heart he bled.
Shalom Aleichem mournfully each said,
Nor eyed the other straight, and looked askance.

Sudden from Church outrolled an organ hymn,
From synagogue a loudly chaunted air,
Each with its Prophet's high acclaim instinct.
Then for the first time met their eyes, swift-linked
In one strange, silent, piteous gaze, and dim
With bitter tears of agonized despair.

—ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

THE ETERNAL PEOPLE

Numerous peoples and powerful kingdoms have disappeared, have gone down when their day came, and have not risen again before those that destroyed them; and many another people, when its day comes, will go down and be lost. But Israel will still live, for the breath of life is in him.

When he was driven from his land, when kingdom and liberty were taken from him, he still refused to utter the word of despair; for a new idea broke into blossom above the tombs of his forefathers, above the ruins of his cities and above his desolate land: the day of his defeat was the day

of a new hope. And while the body crumbled in the dust, he took courage, fashioned for himself a heart of bronze, which could resist both of the arrows of hate and the fires of the most terrible wars. (Perez Smolenskin, *An Eternal People.*)

THE RING OF IMMORTALITY

Three times Sufrah invoked the name of Solomon. At once the slab rose and Sufrah went down by a narrow stairway into the bowels of the earth. Two fiery dogs sprang out of their opposite corners, the flames of their breath intertwining. Sufrah uttered the magic name, and the dogs disappeared, growling. Then he came upon an iron door, which opened silently under his touch. He went down the length of a corridor cut out in the porphyry. Seven-branched candlesticks burned with an eternal light. At the end of the corridor there was a square chamber, with walls of jasper. In the centre a golden brazier shed a rich light. And on a bed made of a single cut diamond lay stretched out an ancient form, white-bearded, and crowned. . . . On the hand of Solomon, which hung down, Sufrah saw blazing the Great Seal. He drew near on his knees and, raising himself to the height of the bed, he lifted the wrinkled hand, slipped off the ring, and made it his own. At once the dark prophecy of the geomancer was fulfilled. The immortal sleep of King Solomon was broken. On the instant his body withered and crumbled into a heap of white and polished bones. . . . But Sufrah, smitten to earth, poured forth his lifeblood in a single, crimson wave, and fell into the slumber of earthly immortality. With the seal of Solomon on his finger, he lay stretched out by the bed of diamond, preserved from putrefaction for countless thousands of years, in this sealed and secret place. . . . The iron door fell back upon the corridor of porphyry, and the fiery dogs took up their watch above the immortal geomancer. (Marcel Schwob, *Vies Imaginaires.*)

THE VISION OF ISAAC

Then Isaac blessed his son, his sons, and all
Their seed to come, and turned him to the wall,
Weary and blind and deaf—for he had known
Much evil for God's name, the Holy One.
Now, full of days, he waited God should send
His messenger, the herald of the end.

But when the Angel of the Lord drew nigh
He touched the dying man on brow and eye,
And straightway Isaac felt the vigorous flood
Of early youth returning to his blood;
The weariness, the blindness and the pain
Departed, and he knew the light again.

The walls dissolved, and in the wilds of space
The dying Father saw his scattered race
Through all the climes beneath the eye of heaven,
From land to land, through field and forest driven:
In distant cities, upon hills and plains
The long procession of their bloody chains.
And far across the ages to him came
The chorus of their agony and shame.

"Isaac, our father, wherefore didst thou give
Thy children life, when none will let us live?
In all the teeming fruitfulness of earth
No share for those who blame thee for their birth:
From land to land by restless hatred blown,
While banishment divides us from our own.

"We are the sport of children: cowards speak
Heroic words of insult to the weak.
Our bodies on our spirits levy toll:
The slavish gesture breeds the slavish soul.

"On the long road of exile and of pain
We sought a hand of brotherhood in vain.

The light which came in flashes to reveal
A pathway, was the light of fire and steel.

"The passion of our supplication rends
The sky, but no deliverer descends.
Others that live can sing: alone we try
The horrors of the grave before we die."

In ceaseless waves the lamentation broke
On Isaac's ears, and in his dream he spoke:

"Where is Thy promise, Father, which decreed
A land of oil and palm-trees for my seed?
Is that land lost? Or do they seek it yet?
Deep be the sins that such a fate beget.

"When on the altar-stone my father laid
The son of his old age, thine angel stayed
At the last touch the sacrificial knife
And gave me back my gladly-proffered life.
But what avails Thy grace, if after me
My children must rehearse my agony?"

God answered Isaac: "If thy father's heart
Plead with me, I will change thy children's part,
The mandate of their destiny efface,
And set My seal upon another race.

"A fruitful land shall be thy sons' abode,
Another race shall learn the exile's road;
Thy sons shall feed on harvest and on fold,
Another race shall hunger and be cold;
Thy sons shall taste all joys the years afford,
And others shall be eaten by the sword;
Thy sons shall learn nobility and pride,
And others shall be stoned and vilified;
Thy children shall forget the glooms profound
In which their immortality is bound,
Another race, in suffering and shame,
Shall bear eternal witness to My name."

Thus thundered back the answer of the Lord;
And Isaac spoke again—his dying word:
"Lord, in Thy mercy be my words forgot,
Change not my children's heritage and lot.
Let them live on, and if it be Thy will,
Let them be shelterless and friendless still;
Still let them be the sport of every race,
But let them praise Thy name—and see Thy face."

Then God touched Isaac's eyes, and Isaac died,
And Jacob laid him down at Abraham's side.

—Edmond Fleg.

THE RESURRECTION

The clear lamp of the evening star
  Hangs high in the eternal tent:
Unflecked by any cloud the skies,
  The grass by any breath unbent.

The fret and fever of the day
  Set with the setting of the sun:
There's rest and faith and earthly peace
  For all but thee, my only one. . . .
. . . . . .
Above the old, forgotten graves
  A bird has wakened now, and sings:
And rippling like a pearly shower
  The silver of its music rings.

"Peace to you, ancient graves! I bring
  A message from the world of light:
Deep is the silence of your slumber,
  Deep is the darkness of your night.

"But dark as is your slumber now,
  So glorious shall the morning rise,
And pierce the dreams of death and silence
  That rest upon your moveless eyes.

"O hear me, in my flight I saw
The great Messiah drawing near,
And you that sleep in dust shall soon
Start up to hear him calling clear!"
. . . . . .
O bird above the graves, how old,
How foolish is thy happy song!
"I see the great Messiah coming! . . ."
But oh, the road he takes is long.

The wholly dead may patient wait,
But there's a people, sick and grey,
Not wholly dead, not wholly living:
Are saviors sent to such as they?

No savior from without can come
To those that live—and are enslaved.
Their own Messiah they must be,
And play the Savior and the saved.

—S. Frug.

THE MESSIAH

In the dead of night I heard a sound of storm,
A storm of shaken chains,
The clash of link on link—
The heavens were opened.
And a great golden glory beat upon me suddenly,
A splendour of beams was poured like a bursting tempest around me
On all: confusion of crimson and blue.
And I fell to the earth and bowed myself and kneeled.

Behold, the Lord, the Lord God of Hosts, the Lord God Sabaoth,
In the midst of amber and chrysolite, in the midst of crimson clouds,
Clouds ascending and clouds descending—
There above the flame that flickers like the whiteness of sapphire
Is the lofty and exalted Throne,

The Moon is His footstool and the Sun the pillow of His head,
And the folds of Him are spilled through the seven heavens.
Thus in glory sits the Lord God of Hosts. . . .
But who is this that is chained to the Throne on high,
Who is this that is chained with chains of gold,
With chains that will not break?
It is our Lord, the King Messiah. . . .

Lo, by thy signs, Messiah, I knew thee:
By the fire that burns in thine eyes,
(This is the sacred fire
That glows in the eyes of all that are singers,
Of all that are seers, redeemers and prophets),
By the spirit which is poured out upon thy brow,
By the signal of pity in thy fallen cheeks,
By the fierce sparks that play about thy lips:
But, more than these,
By the chains which are laid upon thine arms
(Chains like these I saw once before,
And they were laid upon the limbs of Prometheus
Because he had brought down fire to the sons of man).
By all these signs wert thou known to me, Messiah.
Art thou not he, our Lord, the King Messiah?

And a thousand years these chains,
These chains of gold that will not break
Have bound thee to the throne of the Lord God Sabaoth,
Have bound thee that thou stir not.
And from above thine eyes look down
Upon all the furies and terrors of life
That seize upon thy brothers,

And thy hand is powerless to help.
And daily, hourly, momently,
As thine eyes see the new evils,
And thine ears hear the crying of new blood
Calling to thee from the earth,
Thy soul, too, grows impotent within thee,
And rage consumes thee like fire, and thy veins are convulsed,
And thou art filled with longing and desire,

And thou girdest thyself with all thy strength
To burst thy chains and break a way to freedom,
That thou mightest descend swiftly to earth,
To redeem and to deliver
The oppressed from the oppressor, and the poor from those that rob them.
And a voice is heard in the clashing of the links of thy chains,
As often as thou strainest to burst them,
As often as thou callest: "Now I can bear no more!
Now I will descend, now I will come, now I will save!
In a little while I will deliver them!"
And behold thy straining is in vain,
And thou fallest backward again,
And all things become again as they were.
And see, it is a thousand years that this voice is heard in the night,
The sound of the straining at thy chains—
And in the dead of night I too have heard.

In the dead of night I have heard: "Lord God, Lord God, how long?
I wither, I wither!
Wherefore hast Thou breathed this soul into me?
And wherefore hast Thou planted this heart in me?
To feel all pain, all suffering, all evil,
To bear the burden of all oppression,
All unhappiness and all misfortune—
And hast bound mine hands that I may not save?
Wherefore hast Thou given me an eye that sees,
And ears that listen,
That I may see the generations and their tears,
That I may hear the generations and their sighing,
My heart wounded with the wounds of all men,
And hast bound mine hands that I may not save?
Wherefore hast Thou created this sea of wretchedness,
All the evil and all the oppression,
Which mine eyes have looked upon from of old,
And which mine eyes will look upon for the eternity to come,
And hast breathed a spirit into me,

To curse all evil and to blast it—
But has set a seal upon my lips that I may not curse?
Wherefore these countless multitudes of the unhappy
Which are yet to be until the end of the generations,
With the countless multitudes of their tears
Which will yet be poured into the nether waters,
And wherefore hast Thou made me to hear
The great noise of their weeping which splitteth the rocks,
And hast bound mine hands that I may not save?
Wherefore hast Thou given me the strength
To save and to redeem, to help and to rescue,
To comfort those that mourn,
To heal hearts that are broken,
To bind up all sorrows—
And hast laid chains upon mine arm?
Lord God, wherefore hast Thou made me a Redeemer,
And hast forbidden me to redeem?"

And in the dead of night there is heard a sound of storm,
The storm of golden chains,
A storm of links that clash upon each other,
As often as the Messiah strains to burst his bonds,
And tears with the strength of his arm
At the Throne of Glory and the pillars thereof,
And at the heavens, and the heaven of heavens—
And an echo is heard against it, in the dead of night,
The sound of a storm of chains of iron
On the face of the earth below,
From end to end of the face of earth below.
And it chances that from amidst the crimson clouds,
From amidst the chrysolite and amber,
From amidst the whiteness of white sapphire,
A Voice is heard answering: "Until a new generation arise,
A generation that will understand redemption,
A generation that will desire to be redeemed,
Whose soul will be prepared to be redeemed!
Then wilt thou too achieve thy destiny and be redeemed:
Then wilt thou too achieve thy destiny and redeem!"

—David Frischman.

Biographical Index

(The page numbers within parentheses refer to the extracts from the authors listed below.)

ABRAHAM IBN DAUD (1110-1180), historian and philosopher, born in Spain: attempts in *The Sublime Faith* to reconcile Judaism with Aristotelianism. (pp. 154, 182)

ABRAHAM IBN EZRA (1092-1167), poet and philosopher, born in Spain. Traveled a great deal in France, Italy, England, Egypt, etc. One of the most daring Bible commentators. (p. 175)

ABRAMOWITCH, SHOLOM JACOB (1835-1917), born in Russia, better known under the pen name of *Mendele Mocher S'phorim* (Mendele the Bookseller). Depicts in several well-known novels the life of the Jews of Eastern Europe. (p. 331)

ABTALION (1st century B.C.), Pharisee descended from a family of proselytes, vice-president of the Sanhedrin. Always associated with the equally famous scholar Shemaya. Hillel was their disciple. (pp. 43, 48)

ACHAD HA-AM (One of the People), pen name of Asher Ginsburg, born in Russia 1856. Founder of a school of Zionist thought, the characteristic of which it is to stress the moral and cultural significance of Zionism, as opposed to the political. (p. 297)

ACHAI SHABCHA, Gaon (about 750), editor of a collection of decisions on sacred texts and on juridical questions. (p. 120)

AKIBA BEN JOSEPH (generally called AKIBA) (50-132), one of the most famous of the Tanaim, or Teachers, scholar, moralist and national hero. Was one of the supporters of Bar Cochba. Suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Hadrian. (p. 101)

AKYLAS (2nd century), Jewish proselyte, of Pagan origin. Known for his Greek translation of the Bible. (p. 100)

ASH, SHOLOM, born in Russia 1881, established in the United States. One of the best known dramatists and novelists in Yiddish literature. (p. 325)

BAAL SHEM (The Master of the Name), name given to Israel ben Eliezer of Medzyboz (1698-1760), thaumaturge and mystic, founder of the Chassidic sect. The Chassidic movement was the revolt against the formalism and Talmudic casuistry of the period. (p. 238)

BACHYA IBN PAKUDA, lived in Spain, eleventh century. His famous work, *Duties of the Heart,* was the first systematic theory of a Jewish morality. (p. 227)

BARUCH MARIZO (17th century), author of *The Memoirs of the Children of Israel,* in which is given the life of Sabbatai Zevi (1626-1676), the pseudo-Messiah. (p. 169)

BENAMOZEGH, ELIAS (1822-1900), Italian Rabbi, author of several works on Jewish historical subjects. (p. 286)

BERACHYA BEN NATRONIA (12th century), Biblical scholar of Provence. Author of *Fables of the Fox,* a Hebrew reproduction of the popular fables of the Middle Ages. (p. 224)

Berditchevsky, Micha Joseph (1865-1921), Hebrew writer and philosopher, born in Russia. Opponent of cultural Zionism as conceived by Achad-Ha-Am. Introduced the theories of Nietzsche into Hebrew literature. (p. 318)
Bernstein, Henri, French dramatist, born in Paris in 1876. Author of numerous plays. Treated the subject of anti-Semitism in his play *Israel.* (p. 357)
Bialik, Chaim Nachman, Jewish national poet, born in Russia, 1873. Acknowledged head of the neo-Hebrew school. (pp. 322, 332, 335, 337, 338, 364, 370)
Buber, Martin, German writer; has written a great deal on Chassidism and Jewish mysticism. (p. 318)

Chananel Ben Shushiel (990-1050), Talmudist, of Kairouan, author of rationalist commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud. (p. 173)
Chanina Ben Dossa (1st century), Tana (teacher) and thaumaturge, type of the poor Jewish pietist and scholar. (p. 94)
Chanina Ben Teradion (2nd century), Palestinian Tana. Martyred by the Romans. (p. 109)
Chasdai Crescas (1340-1410), philosopher, born in Spain. Exercised a profound influence on Spinoza. (pp. 203, 204)
Chasdai Ibn Shaprut (915-970 or 990), doctor, philanthropist and statesman, councillor to the Sultan of Cordova, Abdul Rahman III. (p. 151)
Cohen, Hermann (1842-1900), German philosopher, neo-Kantian, professor at the University of Marburg. (p. 276)
Cohen, Jacob, Hebrew poet, born in Russia, 1877. (pp. 334, 343, 365, 380)

Darmesteter, James (1849-1894), French orientalist. Translated the Zend-Avesta into English. (p. 272)
Disraeli, Benjamin, Lord Beaconsfield (1804-1881), English Conservative statesman and writer. Played the leading rôle at the Congress of Berlin (1878), where he tried to obtain equality of civil rights for the Jews of Roumania. (p. 277)
Dubnow, Simon, journalist and historian, born in Russia, 1860. In his *History of the Jews* he demonstrates the unity of the Jewish national spirit throughout the centuries. (p. 292)

Einstein, Albert, German mathematician and philosopher, born 1879. Author of *The Theory of Relativity.* Was among the German scientists who protested against the war. Takes an active part in the Zionist movement, and read the first lecture at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. (p. 303)
Eleazar Ben Judah, of Worms, Talmudist, Cabbalist and moralist, born circa 1176, died 1238. His family and many of his students were tortured by the Crusaders, but his work, *Rokeach,* is filled with a spirit of love toward God and man. (p. 228)
Eleazar Ben Simon (2nd century), Palestinian Tana, son of Simon ben Jochai. (p. 110)
Eleazar Ha-Kalir, date uncertain, religious poet of the Middle Ages. A great many of his poems are incorporated in the ritual. (p. 212)
Eliezer Ben Hyrcanos (1st and 2nd centuries), Palestinian Tana, founder of the Academy of Lud. (pp. 92, 121, 122)
Elisha Ben Abuya (1st and 2nd centuries), Palestinian Tana, generally alluded to, with horror, as *Acher* (the Other), because of his open abandonment of the faith. (p. 104)
Emmanuel of Rome (1270-1330), poet and commentator, born in Rome. Author of poetical and satirical works. Among the latter is *Hell and*

Paradise, written under the influence of Dante, with whom he was probably on friendly personal terms. (p. 225)
ENELOW, H. G., American Rabbi, born 1877, writer on Liberal Judaism. (p. 315)

FLAVIUS, JOSEPHUS (31-100), Jewish historian, descendant of the Hasmoneans. Though he took part in the struggle against Rome, he accompanied Titus to Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem. Author of a *History of the Jews* and *History of the Jewish Roman Wars.* (pp. 5, 6, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 44)
FLEG, EDMOND, French dramatist and poet, of Swiss origin, born in Geneva, 1874. Author of several plays and volumes of poetry. (p. 385)
FRANK, WALDO, American writer, born at Long Branch, N. J., 1889. Author of several novels and of *Our America.* (p. 258)
FRISCHMAN, DAVID (1860-1916), Hebrew poet and critic, born in Poland. (p. 388)
FRUG, S. S. (1860-1916), poet, born in Russia. Wrote in Yiddish and in Russian. Translated many modern works into Hebrew. (p. 387)

GAMALIEL II (1st and 2nd centuries), Palestinian Tana, grandson of Gamaliel I. Gamaliel II was, after the death of Simeon ben Jochai, President of the Academy of Jabneh. (p. 96)
GEIGER, ABRAHAM (1818-1874), Reform Rabbi, historian and critic, born in Germany. One of the founders of the Reform movement in Judaism. (p. 268)
GORDON, JUDAH LEIB (1831-1892), born in Russia. One of the pioneers of the neo-Hebrew poetry. Played an important rôle in the Haskallah, the Jewish renaissance of the nineteenth century. (p. 342)
GRAETZ, HENRY (1817-1891), historian. Author of the first systematic history of the Jewish people from its beginnings to modern times, still considered a standard work. (pp. 166, 235, 237, 238, 241)

HERZL, THEODOR (1860-1904), founder of the modern Zionist movement. Author of *The Jewish State* and *Altneuland.* (p. 295)
HESS, MOSES (1812-1875), German writer and thinker. Identified first with the Socialist movement. Author of *Rome and Jerusalem,* the first modern expression of Jewish nationalism, and one of the classics of Zionist literature. (p. 291)
HILLEL, called sometimes Hillel the Great (40 B.C. to 10 C.E.), one of the most famous of the teachers, and the outstanding traditional type of scholar, by virtue both of learning and of character. (pp. 44, 47, 49)
HIRSCH, SAMSON RAPHAEL (1808-1888), German Rabbi, one of the foremost orthodox divines of his time. Author of several religious works. (p. 283)
HIRSCH, SAMUEL (1815-1889), Reform Rabbi, born in Germany, died in the United States. One of the leaders of the Reform movement. (p. 304)

ISAAC ABARBANEL (1437-1508), Talmudist, commentator and statesman. Pleaded the cause of the Jews unsuccessfully before Ferdinand and Isabella. (p. 164)

JOCHANAAN BEN ZACCAI (1st century), Palestinian Tana, disciple of Hillel. Escaped from the city of Jerusalem during the siege by Titus and obtained permission to found the Academy of Jabneh. (p. 92)
JOSE BEN CHALAFTA (2nd century), Tana, disciple of Akiba. Founder of the Academy of Sepphoris, in Galilee. (p. 113)
JOSEPH HA-COHEN (1496-1575), doctor and historian, born in Avignon, of a family exiled from Spain in 1492. His chief work is the *Emek Ha-*

Bacha (Vale of Tears), an account of the persecutions of the Jews. (pp. 151, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164)

JOSE THE GALILEAN, Palestinian Tana (beginning of the 2nd century). (p. 111)

JOSEPHUS, see Flavius Josephus.

JOSHUA BEN CHANANYA (1st and 2nd centuries), Palestinian Tana. Cantor at the Temple before its destruction. (p. 97)

JUDA HA-NASI, known also as Juda the Saint, or Rabbi (135-220), one of the most famous of the Tanaim. The final editing of the Mishna was directed by him. (p. 113)

JUDAH AL-CHARIZI (12th and 13th centuries), Hebrew poet, born in Spain. His chief work is the *Tachkemoni,* in imitation of the Arab Al-Hariri. (p. 225)

JUDAH HA-LEVI (born in Spain end of 11th century, died 1140). One of the greatest Hebrew poets of all time. Much of his religious poetry has been incorporated in the ritual. Known best for his poem on Palestine. Equally famous as a philosopher. (pp. 179, 181, 218)

JUDAH IBN BALAAM (13th century), born in Spain, grammarian, commentator and religious poet. His commentaries were written in Arabic. (p. 173)

KOHLER, KAUFMANN (1843-1904), American Rabbi and theologian, born in Bavaria. One of the leaders of the Reform movement in the United States. (pp. 306, 307, 308)

KROCHMAL, NACHMAN (1785-1840), writer and philosopher. His *Guide to the Perplexed of the Times,* written in Hebrew, treats of various aspects of Judaism. (p. 274)

LASSALLE, FERDINAND (1825-1864), German sociologist and labor leader. With Karl Marx, the founder of the Social Democratic Labor movement of Germany. (p. 279)

LAZARE, BERNARD (1865-1903) French writer on political and literary subjects. Took a leading part in the vindication of Dreyfus. His best known work is on Anti-Semitism. (p. 280)

LAZARUS, MAURICE (1824-1903), German scholar and philosopher. In his *Ethics of Judaism* attempts to prove the identity of Jewish and Kantian morality. (p. 275)

LEON OF MODENA (1571-1648), Italian Rabbi and poet. Wrote his *Jewish Customs and Ceremonies* in Italian, the first detailed study of the subject. (pp. 233, 234)

LEVEN, NARCISSUS (1833-1915), French lawyer and philanthropist. Was active for many years in the Alliance Israélite Universelle, of which he was one of the founders. (p. 256)

LEVI, SYLVAIN, born 1863, French Indianologist, President of the Alliance Israélite. Author of several studies on Indian life and thought, and on Jewish subjects. (p. 282)

LEVY, LEONARD (1865-1917) American Reform Rabbi. Author of several religious works. (p. 310)

MAIMONIDES, or Moses ben Maimon, known also as The Rambam (1135-1206), born at Cordova: the most famous of the Jewish mediæval scholars and philosophers. His best known work is *The Guide to the Perplexed,* in which he reconciles the Bible with Aristotle. This work has exercised a profound influence on Jewish thought from the date of its publication until modern times. (pp. 184, 185, 187, 190)

MARX, KARL (1818-1883), German economist and labor leader, founder of the Communist International. Author of *Das Kapital.* (p. 278)

MEIR (2nd century), Palestinian Tana. (p. 104)

MENASSAH BEN ISRAEL (1604-1657), Rabbi and scholar. Negotiated successfully with Cromwell for the readmission of Jews into England. (pp. 231, 232)

MENDELSSOHN, MOSES (1729-1786), German philosopher and commentator. Laid the theoretic foundations of the Reform movement. Author of several important philosophic works, and translator into German of the Pentateuch. (pp. 243, 244, 245, 246)

MOSES IBN EZRA (1017-circa 1138), born in Granada, poet and philosopher. Ranked with Judah Halevi. (pp. 174, 220, 221)

MONTEFIORE, CLAUDE (born 1858), English writer and thinker, contributor to the Jewish Quarterly and author of *Liberal Judaism*, a defence of the Reform movement. (pp. 311, 313)

MUNK, SOLOMON (1803-1867), French orientalist, Professor at the College de France. (p. 269)

NAHUM GIMSO (1st century), Palestinian Tana. (p. 95)

NATHAN HA-BAVLI (10th century), Babylonian Jewish historian. (p. 88)

NORDAU, MAX (1849-1923), Austrian doctor and writer, author of *Degeneration, The Conventional Lies of Civilization,* etc. Joined the Zionist movement under Herzl, and remained till the end one of its leaders. (p. 293)

PALLIÈRE, AIMÉ (born 1875), born a Catholic and converted to Judaism at the age of 20. A disciple of Rabbi Benamozegh, whose works he edited. Has written largely on Jewish religious subjects. (p. 286)

PERETZ, JUDAH LEIB (1851-1915), Hebrew and Yiddish writer, born in Russia. One of the most popular exponents of East European Jewish life, and particularly of Chassidism. (pp. 320, 348)

PHILO (20 B.C.-circa 50 C.E.), also known as Philo Judæus, of Alexandria, neo-Platonist. His principal works, in Greek, reconciled the Bible with Platonic thought. His influence on the founders of Christian theology was considerable. (p. 68)

PINSKER, LEON (1821-1891), Russian doctor and writer, author of the brochure, *Auto-Emancipation,* one of the first Zionist appeals. Took an active part in the Zionist movement, as at first organized in the form of the Choveve Zion (Lovers of Zion.) (p. 297)

PROPHIAT DURIAN (Isaac ben Moses Halevi), fourteenth century. Philosopher, physician and grammarian. The ironical letter in the anthology was addressed to a friend who, in a pact with him, had agreed to enter the Catholic Church with a secret understanding to return to Judaism later. The friend, completely won over, failed to keep the pact. The letter is in reply to one from his friend. (p. 229)

RABINOVITCH, SHALOM (1859-1916), known as Shalom Aleichem (his pen name), wherever Yiddish is spoken. The foremost Jewish humorist and *raconteur.* Author of numerous novels, sketches and studies, all of them in such intimately idiomatic Yiddish as to be practically untranslatable. (pp. 340-346)

RAISIN, ABRAHAM, born in Russia, 1875, settled in the United States; Yiddish poet and short story writer. (p. 352)

RASHI, pen name of Solomon bar Isaac (1040-1105), born and died at Troyes, France. The greatest and most popular of the Bible and Talmud commentators. Still in the widest use to-day. (p. 176)

RATHENAU, WALTHER (1867-1922), German industrialist, financier, statesman and philosopher. Assassinated, like many other German Jews (e.g., Kurt Eisner, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, etc.) by his political opponents. (p. 281)

REINACH, JOSEPH (1856-1922), French writer and politician, *Chef du Cabinet* with Gambetta. Author of numerous political and historical studies. (p. 261)

REINACH, SOLOMON, brother of the preceding, born 1862, French philologist and archæologist. Author of studies on the origins of Judaism, etc. (p. 271)

REINACH, THEODORE, brother of the preceding, born in 1860, French orientalist and Jewish scholar. (p. 309)

ROSENFELD, MORRIS (1862-1924), born in Poland, resident most of his life in America, the most popular of the Yiddish poets. (p. 340)

SAADIA BEN JOSEPH (892-942), named Gaon of the Academy of Sura. His chief work is *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions,* written in Arabic, a systematic examination of Jewish thought. (pp. 171-172)

SAMUEL IBN NAGDILA (993-1055), Talmudist, poet and statesman, surnamed Ha-Nagid (Chief, or Prince). Author of numerous poems and of an introduction to the Talmud. (pp. 86, 90, 219)

SCHWOB, MARCEL (1867-1905), French writer, author of *Cœur Double, Vies Imaginaires,* etc., and of a translation of Hamlet. Seldom makes use of Jewish themes. Was completely detached from Judaism. (p. 384)

SHAMMAI (1st century), Palestinian teacher, founder of a school, always mentioned together with Hillel, his contemporary, with whose gentleness his severity of temper is always contrasted. (pp. 44, 49, 50)

SHEMAYA (see Abtalion). (pp. 43, 48)

SHERIRA (10th century), Gaon of the Academy of Pumbedhita. Author of an important historic work in the form of a letter to the community of Kairouan. (pp. 86, 87)

SHNAIUR, ZALMAN, neo-Hebrew poet, born in Russia, 1887. Famous for his romantic poems and love-lyrics. (pp. 333, 344, 345)

SIMON BEN JOCHAI (2nd century), Palestinian Tana, pupil of Jochanaan ben Zaccai. Traditionally, but incorrectly, regarded as the author of the Zohar. (p. 107)

SIMON THE JUST, date and identity uncertain, High Priest, one of the last sages of the Great Synagogue. (p. 5)

SMOLENSKIN, PERETZ (1842-1885), Hebrew writer, born in Russia, founder of the important Hebrew periodical (now defunct), *Hashachar* (the Dawn). Among the first of the modern Jewish nationalists. (p. 384)

SOKOLOW, NAHUM (born in Russia, 1859), Hebrew journalist and Zionist leader. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization. (pp. 264, 299)

SOLOMON BEN ADRETH (1235-1310), of Spain, Talmudic scholar, author of several Shaaloth u-Tshuvoth (Questions and Answers on Ritual and Law). (p. 191)

SOLOMON IBN GABIROL (1021-1058), among the finest of the Spanish school of poets and philosophers. His *Fons Vitæ,* written in Arabic, was for many centuries attributed to the Arabs. This work exercised a profound influence on Christian scholastic philosophy, introducing neo-Platonism into mediæval Europe. (pp. 176, 177, 178, 214, 222)

SOLOMON IBN VERGA (15th and 16th centuries), author of *The Scourge of Judah,* an account of the persecutions of the Jews. (p. 161)

SPINOZA, BARUCH (or Benedict) (1632-1677), Jewish philosopher and exegetist. His work is deeply influenced by Maimonides and Chasdai Crescas. (pp. 204, 205, 207)

SPIRE, ANDRÉ, French writer, born 1868. Known for his literary and Zionist activities. (pp. 260, 327, 353, 356)

STEINBERG, JUDAH (1863-1908), Hebrew poet and writer, born in Bessarabia. Known for his descriptions of the life of the Chassidim. (p. 355)

TCHERNICHOWSKY, SAUL, born in the Ukraine, 1875, one of the foremost neo-Hebrew poets. (pp. 326, 354, 361)

WASSERMANN, JACOB, German novelist and man of letters. (p. 360)
WEISS, ISAAC HIRSCH (1815-1905), Austrian scholar and Talmudist. (p. 272)
WEIZMANN, CHAIM (born in Russia, 1874), Zionist leader. For many years Professor of Chemistry at Manchester University, credited with a number of important inventions. Instrumental, together with Sokolow, in obtaining the Balfour Declaration. President of the World Zionist Organization. (p. 301)
WESSELY, HARTWIG (1725-1805), Hebrew writer and teacher, born in Germany. One of the pillars of the Haskallah, or Hebrew Renaissance. (p. 244)

ZADOC KAHN (1839-1905), Chief Rabbi of France, one of the founders of the Revue des Etudes Juives. (p. 288)
ZANGWILL, ISRAEL (born in London, 1864), novelist, dramatist, essayist and critic, for many years identified with the Zionist movement from which he seceded to found the Jewish Territorial Organization. Author of numerous works on Jewish and general subjects. (pp. 264, 328, 329, 383)
ZUNZ, LEOPOLD LIPPMANN (1794-1886), founder of *Jewish Science*. Author of many important works on Jewish historical subjects. (p. 267)